

The Song as a Medium of Social and Literary Comment:

A Study of Songs in the Nganda Dance Practised

in Mwase-Lundazi, 1937 - 1958.

by

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The University of Zambia

L U S A K A

1987

APPROVAL

This dissertation of JACOB ABEL CHIRWA is approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of the Master of Arts Degree in African Literature by the University of Zambia.

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Signed *John Lubinda* Date 15/11/88

Signed Date

DECLARATION

I certify that this dissertation is my own original work
and that it has not previously been submitted for a degree
at this or any other University.

Signature of Student: 

JACOB ABEL CHIRWA

Date: JANUARY 18 1988

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ABSTRACT

The discussion on the origins, performance and social and literary functions of the Mganda dance songs among the people of Mwase - Lundazi (also known as Chimaliro) in the Eastern Province of Zambia is the basis for this dissertation.

The Mganda dance, which is also known as Malipenga, is an offshoot of the Beni dance mode from East Africa. Other offshoots of the Beni in Central Africa being the Kalela among the Bisa and Mbeni or Vindungu among the Bemba in Zambia. In Malawi the dance form is called Malipenga among the Tonga and Mganda among the Henga. It is a fairly modern dance having evolved about the beginning of the current Century. Historically, Mganda is closely associated with Britain's military manoeuvres and the spread of her colonial activities covering East and Central Africa. The Beni dance diaspora from the East African coastal towns of Lamu and Mombasa to Central Africa followed a parallel pattern to that of the military conquest of the region. The offshoots are thus seen as regionalised dance patterns whose putative parent is the Beni.

The study is divided into five chapters, the first of which is of an introductory nature. The aims and rationale of the study are discussed here. A brief outline of the historical

political and socio-economic situation that gave rise to the dance in Chimaliro is traced.

Chapter two discusses the origin and development of the dance in Chimaliro from 1937 to 1958. Of great importance in this chapter is the division of the study period into three phases - Simati, Chibeza and Kandale. For the rise of each of these phases, the underlying political or socio-economic forces are discussed. This analysis presents the functional nature of the dance songs during my study period. The case study made of the practice during the Simati phase shows the nature of organisation of the dance mode and helps in clarifying the question of the ubiquity of the dance.

The third chapter discusses the ethnomusicological part of the dance. The relationship between the dance songs and the contexts in which they were performed formulates the basis of the discussion in this chapter. The argument advanced is that due to the close relationship between the dance (songs and the kinematics) and the topical themes used in the songs, there existed a major role that these songs played in the promulgation of social stratification messages in the contexts of the performances.

The fourth chapter deals with the literary analysis of the songs. Much of it is focussed on the attempt to define the

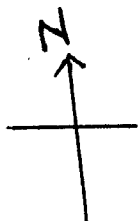
songs as an example of lyric poetry. Features that are cardinal in the analysis of the nature of lyric poetry are applied on the songs so as to qualify the assertion that these songs are an example of that form of literature. The final chapter is the conclusion of the study. I finally posit that due to the findings made in the discussion of the songs in the foregoing chapters, Mganda dance songs form an important part of the people's literature which if topical, as the Mganda songs are, have numerous functions in society.

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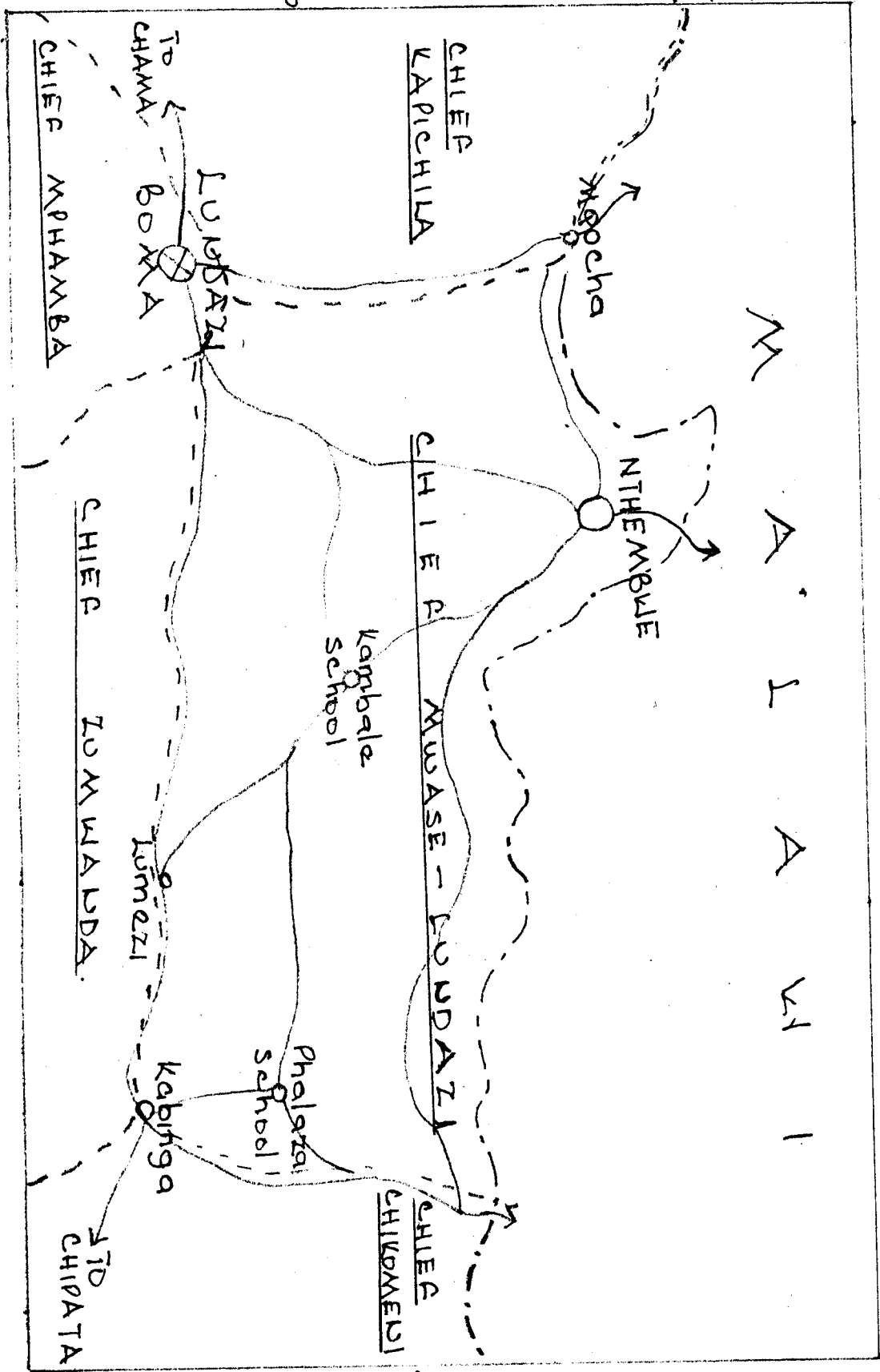
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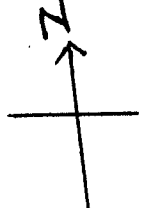
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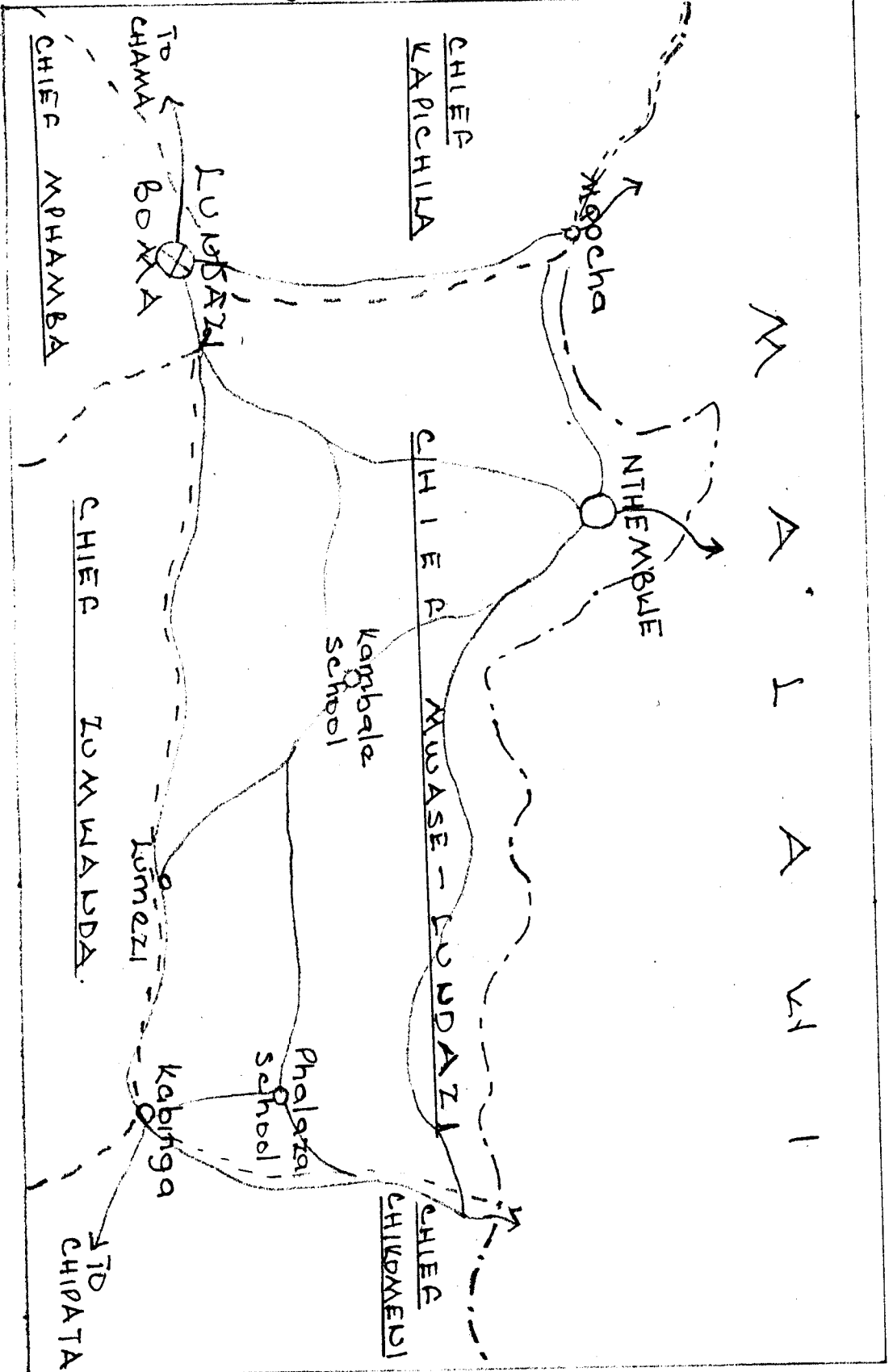
SKETCH LOCATION MAP OF CHIEF MUASE-LUDDAZI AREA

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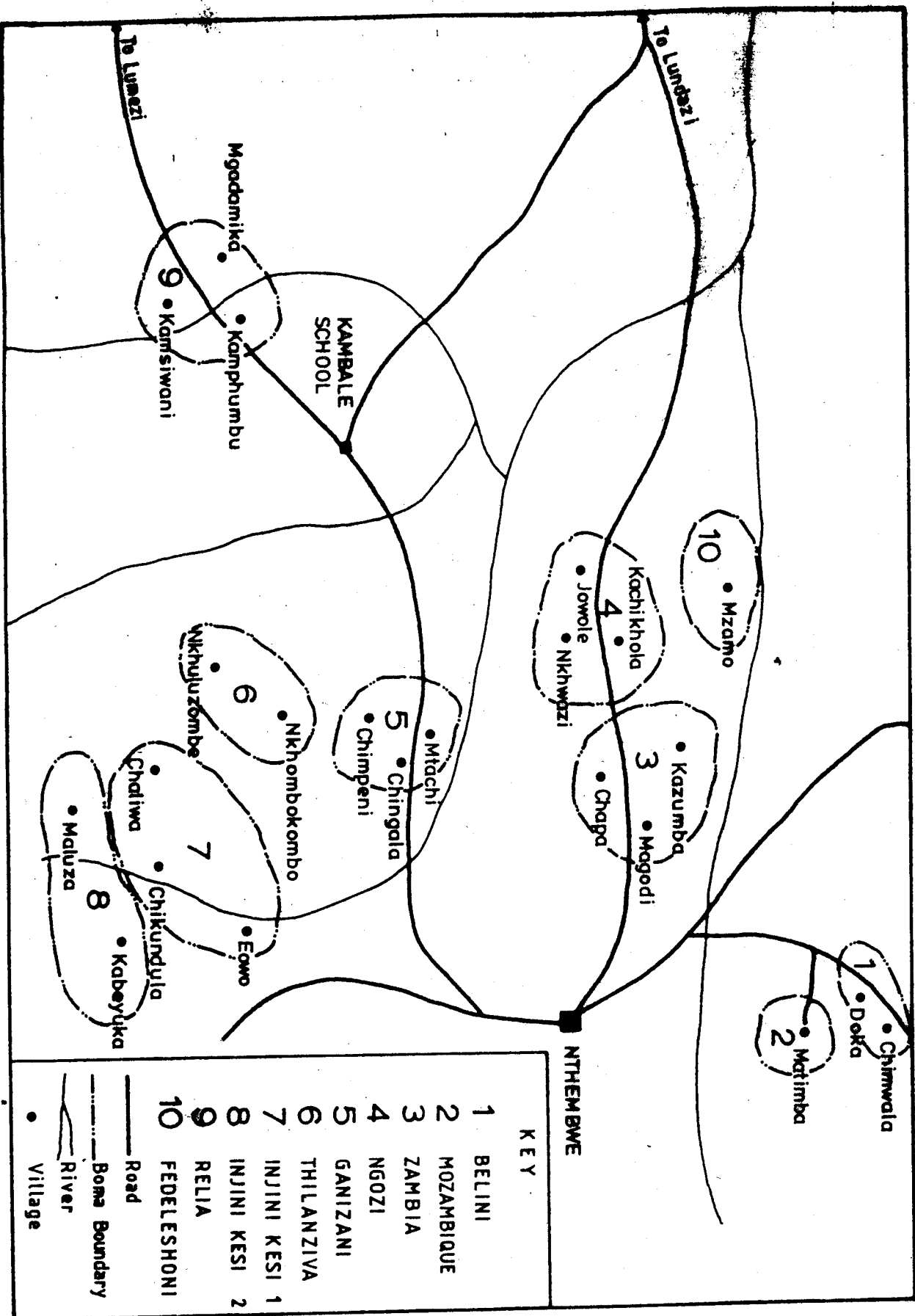


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SKETCH LOCATION MAP OF CHIEF MWASE-LUDDAZI AREA

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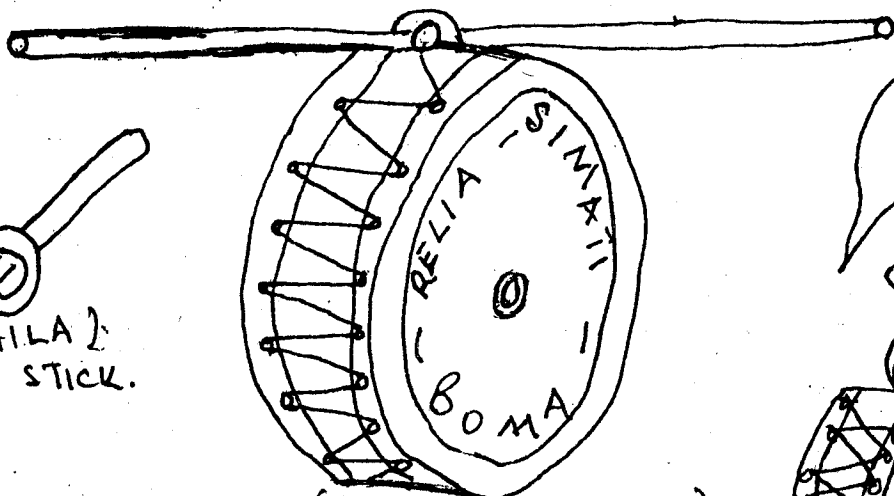


MAP 2. NGANDA DANCE BOMAS 1987 COVERED DURING THE RESEARCH

ILLUSTRATION OF SOME PROPS USED IN MGAUDA DANCE



(MPHILA)
DRUM STICK.



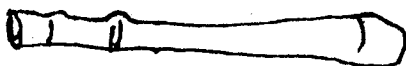
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BIG DRUM



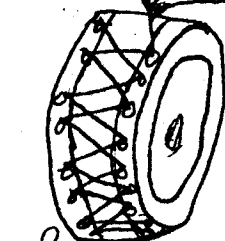
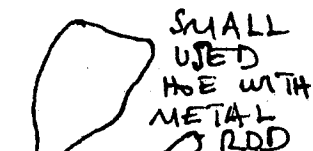
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BASS TRUMPET



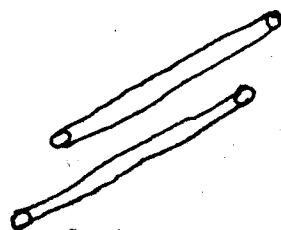
(BAJA LA TELINALA)
TENOR TRUMPET



(NDODO)
BUTTON/SWAGGER STICK



PELEKETE AND
MBOZA
(SMALL SIDE
DRUMS)



SMALL DRUM
STICKS



(MCHIRA)
FLYWHISK



(PIUTO)
WHISTLE

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Statement of Purpose

The focus of this study will be on the social and literary functions of the Mganda dance songs performed in Mwase-Lundazi. I intend, firstly, to trace the historical development of the dance from 1937 to 1958, noting the various phases it passed through. Secondly, I shall make an ethnomusicological analysis of the same in the given period, examining the changes in the thematic concerns of the lyrics and, thirdly, in relation to the second point, I shall discuss the song as an aspect of lyric poetry, assessing the structure and style of the same.

Justification for this study can be made on many grounds. Firstly, in various studies of the Mganda and other related dances, there has been an apparent lack of literary analysis of the songs used. Jones (1945) looked at the musicological aspect of the dance with emphasis on the percussion instruments, while Gulliver (1953), Mitchell (1956), Komakoma (1965) and Ranger (1975) concentrated on either the sociological or historical aspects of the dances. Kerr and Nambote (1982) studied the theatrical features of the Malipenga

mime. I feel, therefore, that there is need to study the literary and social aspects of the Mganda dance 'song-poems' so as to fill the gap which still remains.

Secondly, an analysis of the social context of the dance songs reveals that they closely reflected societal happenings. By examining various themes, I shall also note that the songs were topical, thereby functioning as a means of regulating social behaviour.

Finally, I find the view expressed by Mitchell (1956) that these dance forms (Beni, Kalela and Mganda) were done to show African submission to white domination in the colonial era ¹ misleading. Therefore, I wish to posit that these dances were a people's way of expressing their experiences, antagonisms and comradeships.

1.1 Historical Background of Mwase-Lundazi

Chief Mwase-Lundazi's area lies south-east of Lundazi Boma in the Eastern Province of Zambia. It covers the region between the Zambia and Malawi border to the east, and the main Lundazi to Chipata road to the west. To the north, its border are shared with Chief Kapichila, while the southern borders are shared with Chief Chikomeni (see map p.xii).

The pre-colonial political situation in Mwase-Lundazi

shows the domination of the land by the Chewa people who were both matrilineal and matrilocal. Much of their political organisation was explained from the execution of the Nyau cult. This made the society a closed one in many respects as 'outsiders' were not allowed to join the cult. Over the years, however, other groups of people settled in Mwase-Lundazi. One such group were the Tumbuka who were running away from the Ngoni raiders in Nyasaland. Differences with the Chewa were unavoidable as the Tumbuka were patrilineal and, being 'outsiders,' were not allowed to join the Nyau. With time the cultural differences were underplayed as people intermarried, thus forming a mixed society.

The colonial history of Mwase-Lundazi in as far as it concerns this study can be defined from the onset of the First World War in 1914. Though their role was ambivalent, the indigeneous people were conscripted into the army as porters and soldiers. Since this was forcibly done, many people ran away from their homes to 'safe' areas to avoid enlistment. Such movements were common in Mwase-Lundazi. These people's fears were strengthened by the stories told by the demobilised soldiers, most of whom came back emaciated and with numerous tales of misery.² However, some of these soldiers glorified their exploits in the foreign lands. To qualify this glorification, they brought back values that they displayed to those that had not travelled.

One such display was the militaristic parade march which became the core of the earliest Mganda dance performances.

Migrant labour was introduced in Mwase-Lundazi as a result of the introduction of the money economy and the imposition of taxes on the male populace as from 1900. Since most of the white settlers and the government departments needed the labour force, many able-bodied males joined wage employment so as to avail themselves of the money that they needed for taxes and other requirements. Soon, however, the local labour market was overflowed and one of the most important causes of village destabilisation came into being. Migrations to places as far as South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt - hereafter to be called Halare - became a daily feature. Though some migrants came back after acquiring the things they wanted, some did not. According to the colonial District Note-books for Lundazi, by 1937, almost half of the able-bodied male population was away at any one time from Mwase-Lundazi.

Following the colonial government's introduction of Native Authorities and Ordinances in 1930, the Chewa Native Authority was formed in Mwase-Lundazi. From the outset it exerted great political control over the area. This was strengthened by the installation of the new Senior Chief Mwase - Lundazi in 1940. He was seen

to be an educated and progressive young man who had been to the earliest mission school at Vilimbala and he supported the policies of the colonial government. It was due to his initiative too that missionary activities were openly tolerated where there had been antagonism between the Nyau cult adherents and the missionaries.

The Chief quickly became a territorial figure who gathered around him a number of young and educated councillors who saw to the good order of the land and maintained strong traditional authority over the people.⁴ Due to these efforts, the colonial government supported the chief and became his ally. This relationship became important when people desired to form nationalist political movements. These were quickly suppressed and the groups outlawed, e.g. The African National Congress (ANC) party was directly suppressed in 1953 and 1958 and only in 1960 was the United National Independence Party (UNIP) allowed.⁵

1.2 Review of Literature

A review of literature on the Mganda dance entails, firstly, a brief mention of the historical development of the area and, secondly, a parallel study of the related dance forms as they are closely related in purposes.

In studying the songs used between 1937 and 1958, historical studies like Gann (1963), Rotberg (1965) and Short (1973) provided invaluable historical data. What is basic is that such works provide information on the relationships between the colonial government and the governed; between the missionaries and settlers on the one hand and the indigeneous people on the other. The works also assist in defining the ideological formations of the people in the area.

Other literature dealing with the people of Mwase-Lundazi includes the reports in the District Note-books for Lundazi for the period and the social and political studies of the area done by Van Donge (1984). The value of these works is in their analysis of the question of migrant labour in the area. Figures given in the District Note-books show the gravity of the situation in the period between 1937 and 1946 when almost half of the male population was away in 'foreign land' doing wage labour.

One authoritative work on the probable origins of the Mganda is Ranger's (1975) discussion of the Beni dance in East Africa. The text gives the origins, development and spread of the Beni from the coastal towns of Lamu and Mombasa to the evolution of the offshoots like Kalela, Mganda and Mbeni in Central Africa.

Other works like those done by Mitchell (1956) and Kerr

and Nambote (1982) show clear manifestations of the link between Beni and the regional offshoots. However, scholars like Komakoma (1965) dispute the Beni parentage by stating their own origins for the regional dance modes. Of significance in this respect is that these dances have a definite origin, have kinematics that are closely paralleled with each other and all have close social functions in the societies where they are performed. It is possible to use these dances to study the social relationships in societies as Mitchell (1956) used the Kalela dance to "analyse certain aspects of social relationships among Africans in the towns of Northern Rhodesia." ⁶ This assumption comes from the fact that the dances were popular wherever they were performed. In certain cases even becoming determinants for social and tribal grouping.

Finally, in studying the Mganda song texts as poetry, works by Finnegan (1970 and 1977) provide good analytical models since they dwell on the determination of what oral literature is. The nature of poetry and its functions are analysed on the ethnomusicological basis of works by Nettl (1956) Bowra (1964), Merriam (1964) and Nketia (1975).

1.3 Methodology

1.3.1 Data Collection

Most of the recorded material is based on

the interviews I conducted in Mwase-Lundazi, Lusaka and Mufulira. The interviewees were mainly former participants in the dance some of whom are still actively involved in the administration of the dance teams or clubs - hereafter known as Bomas.

The first part of primary research was conducted between December 1986 and January 1987 in Mwase-Lundazi. Villages visited were the strongholds of the old dance clubs encompassing Bomas like Relia Simati, Ndrama, Belini and Ezhya, (see p.xiii). Upon completion of this, modern day Bomas were visited. These were Ganizani, Injini Kesi Number I, Injini Kesi Number II, Thilanziya, Relia, Ngozi, and Zambia, (see p.xiv).

It was noted that most of the dancers had at one time or another ventured out of the dance area to Halare. Of these a sizeable fraction did not return to the villages of origin hence becoming the Machona (Those that did not come back).

In Lusaka research was restricted to members of the National Dance Troupe and, in Mufulira, the Zambwe Cultural Troupe provided extra information on the reaction of the Machona to the calls from the villages for their return.

Secondly, research was conducted in Libraries around Lusaka and the National Archives of Zambia. This offered the historical base of the work.

1.3.2 Data Analysis

A total sample of 57 texts was recorded during my field trip. Though in no way can this figure stand as an exhaustive repertoire of the dance Bomas, it can be taken as a satisfactory sample, firstly, because the study covered all the four dance Bomas in the area, Secondly, because the songs recorded were taken from all the three phases the dance went through and, thirdly, because the texts have social functions which, though varied, are common to all the phases.

Transcription and translation of the songs were done immediately after the field work. This helped me in eliminating problems associated with terms that may no longer be topical now but which were used then.

Transcription of the songs is in verses. It can easily be noticed that the lines are irregularly grouped such that the divisions correspond to important stages in the development of the theme rather than a set rhyme scheme. The verse is

further relied on as a division because of the structural desires of the dance song where there is a necessary dialogue between the cantor and the chorus. This may take many variations (see pp. 68-72). Out of the creation of verses came the song titles which are based on the main theme of the song.

Translation of the songs from Tumbuka into English was based on the overall meaning of the song rather than the syntax. A mechanical replacement of the Tumbuka words with their English equivalents was likely to render the songs meaningless. Through this, there is little elegance of verse or rhythm in the translated scripts. This is evidenced in song 15, Ba Mphelembe (You Wild Beasts);

Ba Mphelembe
Phalirani bana binu
Ba Mphelembe
Phalirani bana binu
Baleke chita nkhwesa
Tili balara babo.

Which literally would be;

You wild beasts
Tell children yours
You wild beasts
Tell children yours
To stop doing arguments
We are elder brothers theirs.

The next stage, which heavily depended on my knowledge of the societal development in the study period, was the grouping of the song texts into the three phases. This was problematic as some of the songs overlapped the boundaries of the phases. As much as possible, the songs were grouped depending on when they would have been topical.

Emphasis in ethnomusicology is laid on the relationship between the song and the context of its performance. This is the focus in Chapter Three. Much of it dwells on the various themes that are discussed in the texts. The primary assumption here was that the songs had definite functions in the contexts where they were performed and that each phase had its own topical songs.

The Fourth Chapter deals with the literary analysis of the songs. The focus here is on the definition of the Mganda dance songs as lyric poetry by applying poetic guideline on the songs. The final conclusion is that in form and function, the Mganda dance songs can be used as an illustration of lyric poetry.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE MGANDA DANCE

2.0 Music and Dance in Traditional Chewa and Tumbuka Societies.

As in most traditional African societies, music-making forms an important part in the general happenings around the people of Mwase-Lundazi. The relationship between music and life shows an inseparable combination because music is used in many of the activities in the peoples daily lives.

Numerous occasions call for a dance or singing of some sort. People dance and sing to celebrate weddings (mthimba), hunting expeditions (kubamba), a child's birth, a good harvest and a large corpus of beer party dances are a common sight in the villages. Such spontaneous dances and their accompanying songs can be seen to be responses to the moods subsisting at those special times. On the other hand, established dances are also many in Mwase-Lundazi; Ngoma, borrowed from the Ngoni warriors, Vimbuza, a Tumbuka 'spirit possession' dance, Chimlali, a recreational dance for women and Nyau, a Chewa male cult dance, all show well rehearsed patterns and may have rigorous training schedules. It is apparent that these dances laid a lot

of emphasis on preparations for the show. It is in this group of established dances that the Mganda falls. As will be discussed later, its popularity and fame was based on the values that were attached to it.

A special feature that needs mention at the outset is the free utilisation of the songs amongst the dances. It is argued here that except for the songs that were special, e.g. those used in rites and rituals in Nyau and Vimbuza, most of the songs are freely made use of amongst the dances. Similarly, the Mganda dance which though had songs that were exclusive to it did borrow many of its songs from other dances, work songs or from stories in the oral narrative tradition (see p. 65)

2.1 Origins of Mganda in Mwase-Lundazi

Mganda was introduced in Mwase-Lundazi by Tumbuka speaking migrants from neighbouring Nyasaland as early as 1927.⁷ However, generally speaking, the origins of the dance can be explained from the political and socio-economic developments which took place in the area in the first quarter of the present century.

Though it was common for people to move at will before colonial territorial boundaries were drawn, the migrations that influenced the spread of the Mganda took place during the post-declaration period. The

decision by the British to colonise what were known as Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia led to the following development in the dance;

- (1) Oral evidence attests to the fact that the Nganda dance in this area was copied from the Lakeside Tongas and Hengas of Nyasaland. A brief reflection on the diaspora of the East African Beni dance mode will help to show how the Tumbuka in general and the people of Mwase-Lundazi in particular could have developed the phenomenon.

According to Ranger (1975), the diaspora of the Beni from East Africa especially after the First World War was a result of the movement of the demobilised soldiers;

These men returning from military work to their own districts or to the country to cultivate were effective ambassadors of Beni. 8

This diaspora is likely to have brought the dance within the grasp of the Lakeside Tonga who were known for their adventurous spirit, whose journeys across the Lake Nyasa gave them the chance to learn the dance. Upon their return, they introduced it to the other villagers.⁹ With further social mobility, it can safely be assumed that the people of Mwase-Lundazi could have been involved in this diaspora either as returning soldiers or as part of the continuous

movement of people between the lakeside and the land east of the Luangwa river.

(ii) The advent of missionary activities implied a considerable movement of people in ^{the} may areas. Many proselytisers were sent from Khondowe and Livingstonia in Nyasaland to areas in North-Eastern Rhodesia. The missionaries' role in developing Mganda lay in their supporting its performance as a civilising force. Since the dance showed elements of modernity and civilisation, it was preferred to Nyau which was considered evil. The missionaries made deliberate attempts to ban the performance of Nyau.

(iii) The economic development of the area also helped in the migration of the people. With the introduction of the money economy, many people moved to urban centres and other places where they could work for wages which they used to pay for their taxes. This affected the Mganda in that upon their return, these sojourners introduced new values in the villages and the dance gained a great deal from these innovations.

(iv) A more natural movement of people was noted in 1916. there had been a poor harvest in

movement of people between the lakeside and the land east of the Luangwa river.

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(iv) A more natural movement of people was noted in 1916. there had been a poor harvest in

Mzimba district in that season and thus people migrated to areas where they could find food. Some of these people settled in Mwase-Lundazi and slowly became part of the community that they found there. These Tumbuka settlers were not allowed to join the Nyau cult. It was then that they started performing the Mganda as a way of expressing
10
their cultural identities.

I do not intend to isolate any of these sources as the basic origin of the dance in my study area but rather assert that each of these sources played a significant role in the origin and spread of the dance. In conclusion, let me cite three factors that enticed men and youths into joining and supporting the Mganda dance hence making it very popular amongst the villagers.

Firstly, like Beni, the Mganda was closely associated with modernity wherever it was performed. The dancers asserted a "familiarity with the modern world as a
11
result of labour migration or military service." The rest of the people would thus have wanted to be linked with the dance if only to be called civilised.

Secondly, cleanliness was an extremely important part of the dance, the use of uniforms made this compulsory. A smart appearance was part of the whole dance

organisation. "In fact it was a rule that persons that did not dress well were not allowed to take part in a performance."¹²

Thirdly, unlike the Nyau, whose history was literally the history of the Chewa society, Mganda was new and closely associated with modernity. The large numbers of dancers in the dance Bomas showed the militant youthful zest in the organisation.

Because of these values, the new dance easily caught the eyes of the Chewa communities. The young Chewa men desired to become part and parcel of the activity. In the words of one of the earliest Chewa Mganda enthusiasts;

We were amazed at this dance. It impressed us to our hearts content. Cleanliness was stressed. The dance was like a great thing. Anyone not dancing was like a fool. No one would stay behind when the Mganda dance drum was beaten. ¹³

2.2 Mganda Dance Between 1937 and 1958

The values expressed by the dance and the interest generated in the area were the basis for the formation of bigger and more territorially organised Bomas. Territories were created in three basic ways. Firstly, the use of a common language, i.e. Tumbuka, meant that even though people lived far apart they would easily work as a group in a communal activity. Secondly,

aspects like grazing land and water courses meant people on opposite sides of the rivers could use the water as a dividing line for territories. This became common when competitions became rife amongst dance Bomas. Thirdly, complex territories were a result of the ideas brought by the demobilised soldiers and the people that had travelled widely. Since these had interacted with different people where they had been, they found it easy to work with others who spoke different languages. They thus assisted in breaking the 'Tumbuka only' dance groups and the formation of multi-tribal Bomas.

Relia Simati Boma (Australia Smart) was ironically formed in a Chewa village in 1937. Though Thizanziva Boma at Nkhombokombo had a longer history dating back to 1927, the formation of Relia Simati brought the dynamism of the dance to the fore since it was multi-tribal. The new Boma extended its territory to cover Thilanziva Boma and the whole area south-west of the chief's headquarters.

In 1940, a new Boma called Ndrama (money) was formed at Kabeyuka village. The name was later changed to Injini Kesi (Engine Case). It covered the territory on the southern side of the chiefdom. By 1942, The north-eastern side of the chiefdom had a Boma called Belini (Berlin). Due to the increase in the number of Bomas, there developed one of the mainstays of the

phenomenon; the question of inter-Bomas competitions, popular amongst the Beni associations in East Africa, was also encouraged in Mwase-Lundazi.

In 1950, Ezbya (Asia) Boma was formed at Kachinkhota village and it covered the area around the chiefs' headquarters. After the declaration of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953, the Boma changed its name to Edeleleshoni (Federation).¹⁷ Around 1958, the concept of Mganda dancing was consciously suppressed as a more militant dance called Fwemba¹⁸ (Grab) evolved. The year 1958 marks the end of this study as the new dance completely dominated the performance of the less politically motivated Mganda.

Three distinct phases depicting changes either in the main thematic concerns of the Mganda or its dance styles are noted in the period discussed. The time periods demarcating these phases are approximate as the changes were gradual.

2.2.1 Simati Phase 1937 - 1946

Simati was an Africanisation of the English word 'Smart' and this was the name given to the first phase in the development of the dance. The phase is the closest that one finds to the parody of the British military campaigns in the whole history of

the dance mode in Mwase-Lundazi. It is categorised here as the age of 'reactionary submission' to foreign values. The reasons for this were that the dance emphasised on foreign values like 'modernity', 'military cleanliness' and general civilisation. The demobilised soldiers were seen as amateurs of this new lifestyle and hence the dance mode.

That the dance was brought into the area had its own bearing on the songs that were used. Firstly, the fact that the dance was borrowed meant a borrowing of the songs too. This is the reason for the large number of instrumental songs mimicking the military performance being used in the Simati phase. The vocalised songs show largely praise for the foreign values that could only be acquired if one travelled. Secondly, the songs dealing with local issues focus on self-praise as this helped in the promotion of the individual Boma's pride and fame.

A new feature that was brought to the area by the introduction of the Mganda dance was territorial organisation. It has been mentioned earlier (p. 17) that there were many tribal groupings in the area. It was a novel idea and worthwhile advancement to note the cross-tribal groups that evolved with the formation of Mganda dance

Bomas. These territories encompassed large areas and numbers of villages. Relia Simati Boma boasted of having 160 dancers and Injini Kesi Boma had a figure in excess of 100. A performance was, therefore, a display of highly disciplined march-pasts done to the beating of a large military-like side-drum and marching orders given by the Ajitedi (Adjutant).

2.2.2 Chibeza Phase 1947 - 1952

The Simati phase gave way to an 'anarchichal age' that spelt a big transformation in the dance mode. On the one hand, by the late 1940s, the migration of the people was reversed in many areas. Many of those that had gone away either as migrant labourers or as escapees from conscription into government service started coming back home either on leave or permanently. Most of these people brought innovations from their experiences in towns and other areas where they had fled to. These innovations showed new outlooks on the people's ideas on civilisation when compared with the earlier opinions as expressed in the Simati phase. Firstly, the important role that the demobilised soldiers played as animateurs of civilised attitudes was somewhat reduced. Many other people had also travelled widely, hence their right to claim to have been widely know-

ledgeable too. Secondly, two aspects of civilisation, a trip to Halare and some missionary education, that were becoming popular in the area, meant that people did not take to the dance just to be called civilised but rather as a functionally potent way of helping in the social development of their community.

On the other hand, with the consolidation of indirect rule in 1940 and the installation of Mr. Matthew Phiri as the new Senior Chief Mwase-Lundazi also in 1940, it meant the government's more direct involvement in the people's socio-political affairs because the Chief made the colonialists his allies. Those people that were conscientised enough to form nationalist political movements were quickly suppressed. The dance, which could easily have been a vehicle for the dissemination of political propaganda was unconsciously forced to focus on the desires to get back the people that had gone to Halare. This was the source of the name Chibeza (to fish).

Notable changes during this phase were seen in the introduction of the use of swagger-sticks by the front rows of dancers. This in itself increased the virtuosity of the dancers as they introduced new styles to accommodate the use of sticks. The

other change was in the concerns of the songs. The evils of staying away from the villages were criticised and ideals of reconstruction in the devastated homes were greatly praised. The social functionality of the song was drawn away from praise for town life and the self and was centred on commentary on the values of reconstruction of the rural life. The people that returned to the villages and rejoined the dance Bomas were sources of great pride. They were often honoured with positions of great responsibility.

2.2.3 Kandale Phase 1953 - 1958

Following the transformational Chibeza phase, the Kandale (Small politics) phase ushered in a clearly 'revolutionary age' in the Mganda dance. What is unique in this phase is that the dance had taken up most of the traditional qualities of dancing like virtuosity and antiphonal singing. Other changes were also instituted after the innovations introduced during the Chibeza phase.

Nationalist political upheavals in the country did affect the Mganda dance in Mwase-Lundazi. This can be noted in the change of name by Ezhya Roma to Fedeleshoni Roma after the declaration of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953.

Since the Chief directly opposed the rise of nationalist parties, the dance was used to spread propaganda against the new movements that were considered to be violent and destructive.¹⁹ In this regard, the dance was reactionary in relation to the trend of things at the time.

The 'revolution' in the dance was manifested in the organisational setup. Military values that were the mainstay of the earlier phases were considered outdated and reactionary. The passive role of Khingi (King) was replaced with a more active Ajitedi (Adjutant) and membership was restricted to the people that could be called youths (the young men). The dancing was no longer based on the grand march-pasts but a more active and virtuous presentation of steps and style.

Due to increased amount of political agitation, whose spread is evidenced in the Chief's public ban on the activities of the ANC in 1953 and 1958, inter-village feuds developed owing to differing political inclinations in the villages. This was one of the reasons for the breakup of the large territorial Bomas into smaller ones that were based on single villages or clans. It is not surprising therefore that out of this 'chaos,' Fwemba which was more politically motivated easily suppressed the performing of Mganda.

The Songs in the Kandale phase focus more on the questions of social commentary. This is due to the fact that by the end of this phase the dance was completely traditionalised, hence the stress on the general development of the society. This can be contrasted with the emphasis as seen in the Simati phase.

2.3 Mganda Dance Practice: A Case Study from the Simati Phase

2.3.1 The making of a Boma

The making of a dance Boma was based on interest and so no one was punished if he did not want to join a club. Membership was open to all males above the age of ten. Younger children were not allowed to join because of the emphasis on militarisation that they could not have managed to observe.

At a meeting of the new group, numerous matters pertaining to the wellbeing of the club were discussed. The role played by demobilised soldiers was greatly manifested here. The group was called a 'BOMA'.²⁰ The demobilised soldiers likened their organisation with that of the military rulers, hence the military terms. Members were called Bankhondo (Soldiers) and finally a name was settled on. During the Simati phase, it was merely a case of copying any one

name from Nyasaland clubs. The name itself shows a case of picking on any European name.

In terms of organisation, unlike the elaborate systems described by Mitchell (1956), and Kerr and Nambote (1982), there were only three principal ranks. The Khingi (King), the Ajitedi (Adjutant) and the Mahopola (Corporal). This skeletal system ended with the rest of the dancers being called Bankhondo of whom only the Dikitiyi (Detective) also called Kambaza (one who finds out) was noted to have an additional role.

The election of office bearers was made at the first meeting. The criteria used was that of having the most knowledgeable members of the group to lead it. This was the reason why demobilised soldiers and the earliest converts to christianity led the Bomas. Later this was changed as the ranks were reserved for those that showed great enthusiasm for the dance or who were ready to materially inject into the dance Boma. Relia Simati Boma was thus led by Mr. Potiphar Phiri as its first Khingi because he initiated the meeting to form the Boma.

The Khingi was the highest ranked and respected person in the Boma. He was the administrative head of the club. He did not take an active part

in the dancing but was expected to be present during the performances and some rehearsals. During performances, he dressed in his best clothes - usually a suit, he may also have a hat and a walking stick. He was supposed to look like a gentleman in all respects. The aim was to recreate the picture of the colonial king as perceived by the Africans, i.e. being smartly dressed and remotely involved in his soldiers' exploits in faraway lands. This in essence was the picture that they had of the British King who was in his homeland while his soldiers won him battles in Africa and the rest of the world. In certain cases they saw pictures of the British crown and emulated the dressing and mannerisms they saw. When a Mganda Khingi was brought to the arena, he was made to sit in a shelter specially constructed for the occasion. He observed the proceedings closely as he was expected to comment on the happenings at the end of the competition and also announce the results. In the after-performance reviews by a group, he usually played the role of chief critic. He advised his Boma on their weaknesses and praised them on their strong attributes.

The Ajitedi was the second most senior officer in the Boma. He was an active dancer unlike the passive Khingi. Usually he was the 'on the spot

man' that attended to the immediate problems. His roles included calling upon meetings and often chairing them, conducting rehearsals, inspecting the soldiers for cleanliness and health, settling disputes and receiving and accommodating guest Bomas. He also conducted the marching during the competitions. Due to these roles, the position was considered extremely important and could only be given to a dance enthusiast. The Ajitedi's dedication to his duties usually determined the success of a Boma.

The Mahopola played the role of assistant to the Ajitedi. He was expected to assist in maintaining the good order of the Boma. He was basically a soldier with an added responsibility.

The Bankhondo formed the rest of the membership of the Boma. During the Simati phase, a unique factor was their large numbers. They were divided into ordered sections depending on the roles they played. One of them was detailed to be the Dikitivi. The rest were either in the Mabaja (Brass Section) or Makako (The step enforcers). The Mabaja section comprised the Telinala (Tenor) and the Basi (Bass). The drummers were usually on their own beside the marching soldiers.

The Mabaja was essentially based on the Western

brass band arrangement of brass drums and bugles. The drums were made from animal hides and wood. The Kambape or Ganda (The big drum) was shaped into a side drum and a small side drum called Pelekete was also made. The imitation of military wind instruments were made from gourds by boring a hole in the narrow base of the gourd and pasting moistened spider's webs across the hole as a membrane. Another hole was made close to the first one. This was for blowing. Depending on the sound (tenor or bass), the head of the gourd was cut off for a tenor bugle or had a hole made in it for a bass bugle. (see illustration p.xiv).

Though the issue of uniforms and extra paraphernalia to be used in the dancing was discussed generally, it was the responsibility of every individual to provide his own costumes. Dancers made every effort to procure these costumes and this was one of the reasons for some migration:

It was in fact usual for a person to travel to Halare so that he could find money to buy uniforms to be used in the dance. 21

On the other hand, if a soldier was unable to buy himself uniforms or had dirtied his, he was allowed to borrow from those that had more than one set. This form of communal inter-dependence undermines the element of mimicry of colonial

masters that Mitchell (1956) suggests. It rather points towards pre-colonial communal possession and use of property. Every member of the Boma was expected to be selfless and to render assistance to the others as it was the success of the whole group that mattered more than that of the individual.

2.3.2 Preparation for a Performance

After a Boma had been organised in terms of paraphernalia and positions, it got ready for competitions. A major issue here was the need for rehearsals since the dance was nearly always competitive. It was the duty of the members of the Boma to be adequately prepared so as to defeat their rivals. Several rehearsals were held at which the Bankhondo were drilled in making proper steps, dressing, general choreography and the use of special mimes if they were needed. The rehearsals were held either in the village at night or at the dance arena which was also called Boma__la__Nganda (Arena for Nganda). The final rehearsals were done at the Boma__la__Nganda as the Boma was getting ready for a competition. It was important at times to rehearse in secret places as it was common for groups to copy each other's songs and dance steps. Muchalipo Kanyinji of this

said:

We used to follow rival Bomas to their villages. While they danced, we would copy their songs and their dance steps. Upon our return home, we would teach our friends those same songs and steps. Finally we would invite that same Boma. When they came we would dance their steps and sing their songs. This way we demoralised them. They were easily beaten then. 22

When a Boma was ready, they would invite another Boma for a competition. Distances did not deter the movements as people were ready to cover long distances for competitions. The invitation was discussed at a meeting as it was necessary to be administratively ready to welcome the visitors. In this regard, the group discussed preparing food and accommodation for the guests. They also made sure that their group was well rehearsed for competitions before they sent invitations to other Bomas. The Khingi, who may not have attended the meeting, was the final authority in sanctioning the invitation. Though he rarely disputed group decisions, his acknowledgement of the arrangements the Boma had made was important. The letters were then written to the other Bomas. If the response was affirmative, then specific preparations were made.

2.3.3 The Performance

The guest Boma was expected to arrive on the eve

of the day for the competition. The host Ajitedi will have already known how many people to expect and hence will have made prior arrangements for their wellbeing. Upon arrival, the visitors were expediently made comfortable. Even at this level one notices the feeling of strong friendship that existed between 'rival' Bomas. The hosts tried their best to look after their guests well.

The following morning, the visitors were taken to the dance arena. This was not done on the day of the visitors' arrival as that would have given them time to put evil medicines there. On the other hand the host Bomas will have done that;

We put bad medicine there so that the visitors should fail to dance well. The intention was not to bewitch them but to make them fail to dance well and hence lose the competition. 23

Such actions underlie the importance attached to the competitions. At this time the warm-up dancing called Kujula Boma (opening the arena) was performed. Both groups one after the other danced in the arena and then went back to the village to get ready for the 'competition proper.'

The competition in earnest was opened by the host Boma. They lined up in ranks just outside the arena. The first part of the dance was a

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performance of an introductory nature by the Dikitivi. He danced round the Boma chanting praises for his group and by the same token he was 'removing the medicine' that the other group was suspected to have planted there by stepping on it. This symbolic act meant that the medicine was going to affect only him leaving the rest of the dancers free. This part of the dance transcends the military origins of the dance and has more roots in the ritual beliefs of the traditional people.

The second part of the performance was the dance proper. Upon getting a signal from the Dikitivi, the Ajitedi started chanting orders for the group to get ready and dance into the arena. During the Simati phase, this was the stage for showing how well rehearsed a Boma was in drill, swinging of sticks and musical harmony. They marched to the orders given by the Ajitedi. The entire choreography determined the success of the group.

The third part of the dancing was when the gourds were deposited at some safe place and the dancers sang songs praising their group as they proudly marched round the arena. At this stage, they did both slow marching and quick step. After this the Boma marched out leaving the arena for their opponents. This stage of the dance was called

Chitawala.

The competition would thus run for the whole day with the two groups alternating in their entries into the arena. At the end of the day the dance was closed by the host Khingi. Being a competition, one would have expected to have found selected adjudicators making assessments of the performance. The case was different in Mganda competitions. The spectators also acted as adjudicators. The number of presents showered on a group as they performed and the general applause they drew after they had finished showed which team was doing well. The Khingi's duty was to observe the audience reaction in order for him to note which group had won. The results were finally announced and the people dispersed. The guest Boma were offered their last meal and then seen off.

THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF MGANDA DANCE SONGS

3.0 Theoretical Framework

Ethnomusicology is defined as "The study of music in
24 culture."

Though brief, the definition has implications that cover the discovery and study of the role that music plays in man's cultures both past and present. It also attempts to discover the knowledge of what music means to man.

The interest in ethnomusicology is not confined to the study of structural components of musical sound but also stresses the role that music plays in culture and its functions in the wider social and cultural organisations of man. The starting point in this quest is the acknowledgement of the various instances where music is used in society. For Mwase-Lundazi, this was the subject of discussion in the previous chapter (see p.12). The creation of music for the Mganda dance can therefore either be taken as part of the vast corpus of music-making since there is a lot of borrowing of songs from other local singing occasions or as a specific behaviour that is linked with the dance only. To understand this music, one must understand the forces that produced it. This was the concern in the discussion on the development of the dance (see pp. 14-17).

One primary feature of the Mganda dance concerns cultural changes. These changes could be in the behaviour of the people in the community where the dance was performed or in the songs used in the dance. The immediate cause for this was the contact among various people and cultures. The introduction of the dance in Mwase-Lundazi was one such form of cultural innovation. The mere fact that the people got involved in the dance and had changed much of their life styles is noted in the values that the dance professed. Due to migrations, innovations were brought into the area and the dance form developed. This was the source of the three developmental phases that have been discussed in the preceeding chapter. What remains of importance in these changes are the social functions that the dance songs portrayed.

3.1 Social Functions

The concept of functions when taken to mean "the specific effectiveness of any element whereby it fulfills the requirements of a situation, that is, answers a purpose objectively defined.." ²⁵ is manifested when the songs are taken to form part of the customary background of artistic convention that makes them possible. In performance, therefore, the Mganda dance songs assumed the functions of their designs in society. The society usually determines what behavioural patterns can be called conventional. These

are portrayed in such a way that they are shown to be the approved codes of behaviour and are to be upheld.

Since in terms of functions it is the 'specific effectiveness' of the lyrics and artistically it is the contemporaneity of the thematic concerns that made the dance popular, it can be concluded that the songs were to a large extent topical. Their purpose is that they "can be used to report and commend on current affairs, for political pressures, for propaganda and to reflect and mould public opinion."²⁶ Every performance is easily taken to have been a provision of an opportunity for sharing creative ideas. Since the songs tended to be topical in nature, people were expected to have learnt something about their cosmology at every performance. In line with the communal nature of such activities, we can conclude that the creation of lyrics is society based especially in thematic concerns. Nketia (1960), discussing the thematic base of traditional songs noted that:

The themes of the songs tend to centre around events and matters of common interests and concerns to the members of the community or social group within it. ²⁷

Beside this social functionality of the Mganga dance songs, there was the aesthetic aspect that was partially instrumental in popularising the dance. The aesthetic attributes noted in Chapter Two, viz.

cleanliness in dress, the neat execution of the march-pasts, and the music were greatly emphasised on by the performing group. The basic reason for this was that the performances were nearly always competitive and winning was centred on the sum total of the attributes mentioned above. In choosing the best Boma, Bulliver (1956) noted:

Best Boma was one that were good at dancing, singing and their band was well presented. A high standard in these aspects plus the best inter-gration in music, song and dance won the day for a group. 28

3.1.1 The Function of Recreation and Aesthetic Enjoyment

The popular nature of the Myanda dance gave rise to its most overt function. Though it would be difficult to particularise any of the texts as being composed and performed primarily for recreation, this function is based on the fact that the whole dance mode was usually taken for a form of entertainment;

These games are also very common in some parts of Lundazi in Zambia (stress mine). 29

The key word here being games, it means that the performance of the songs and the kinematics of the dance were taken for their recreational value. This can be further corroborated by the fact that

the people of Mwase-Lundazi were presented with an exciting chance to enjoy themselves doing something that did not have as rigid rules as the Nyau institution.

The aesthetic manifestations of the songs were important during the performances. Songs that were poorly sung were easy causes for the loss of championship mantles. A typical example of an adjudicator's comment is summed up by Komakoma (1965):

This other Boma, the tenors were not harmonising. They were differing in their playing. This other Boma, the bass was not loud enough..31

Such meticulous analysis of the performance shows how well and complete an execution of the dance the Boma had to do in order to win the competition. A performance that exhibited all-round unity and harmony was likely to be well lauded with praises and presents.

For the dancers, their aesthetic appreciation of the dance was manifested in the way they enjoyed being involved in the happenings as they danced. One way is to note the pride that the dancers tried to display during the performance of a Chitawala song:

A Chitawala song is one of pride. When dancing, while singing, even distorting the faces as though one was angry. Dancing slowly and proudly showing that smartness. 32

This description shows that involvement by the dancers was absolute. For both the dancers and the spectators, the Chitawala stage was the climax of the show. The former, knowing that their turn in the arena was over, made the most of this part of the performance to show the beauty of their marching steps. The spectators in the meantime were making their final comments on the whole performance. A group without a Chitawala song was likely to lose the competition as Muchalipo Kanyinji commented;

One without this beauty. The beauty of Chitawala was definitely a loser. 33

3.1.2 The Function of Emotional Expression

The creation of Mganda dance songs was dependent on the fact that they were expected to be performed for an audience. The topical nature of this act is reflected in the themes expressed in the songs. It is being suggested here that the music provided a vehicle for emotional expression by the people who protested or used it 'to let off

steam' while they prepared to adjust to the system as it was. The historical military origins of the dance and its development through the three phases all have numerous examples of songs whose themes dealt with emotional release. These emotions could relate to anger, pride or complaint against the colonisers or some wrong noted in the society.

Mganda songs can be taken to be a mechanism for emotional release by groups if the overt functions of the lyrics in song 31, Bakananga Mbefwili (The wizards were wrong), are considered. This song abhors the practising of witchcraft and lists it as one of the elements of village life that were not good. It acts as a deterrent against the practising of witchcraft in the villages. It is opportune that this song was sung during the Chitawala stage of the dance because the specialists got the full import of the song as it was all voiced. It is important to put this theme in the cultural context of the performance. Most oral evidence shows that the Chibeza phase was inundated with accusations of witchcraft in most dance Bomas and villages. Later in the Kandale phase, the issue of witchcraft was one of the reasons why the large Bomas broke up. Song 31, coming in an earlier phase, acted as a plea to people not to wreck the cohesion in the society.

Emotional release can be delivered by an individual especially if he finds himself in a particular situation. Whereas the vogue of travelling to Halare was the core of the songs during the Simali phase, those in the Chibezu phase brought out bitter attacks against the migrations. Songs 3, 26, 27 and 29 reflect on the value of migrating. Song 26, Munilembele Kalala (Write me a letter), is based on the breaking up of a family. The wife is appealing for a divorce because the husband wants to go to Halare. She is sure he is not likely to come back, so she wants to be free to remarry. Such songs stressed the importance of re-examining the inherent issues that disrupted the smooth way of life in the villages. Similar messages and themes were expressed in other songs in the repertoire of the Mqanda dance.

3.1.3 The Function of Cohesion: Education and Conformity to Social Norms

This is a cardinal function in Mqanda songs. In discussing it, primary consideration is to be given to the fact that music is shaped and produced in terms of the culture of which it is part. Through the song texts it employs, it communicates direct information to those who

understand the language in which it is delivered.³⁴ From this argument, we can take it that, either overtly or covertly, information concerning various aspects of the people's cosmology is shared between the performers and the audience.

Since Mganda songs are noted for their topicality, it is likely that in the statement of what is right or wrong, proper or improper, etc, social stratification is discussed and the approved codes of conduct imparted into the erring members of the society. This is the field of the enforcement of conformity to social norms. Through it the nature of the educational value of the songs is mentioned and seen to be enforced too. In addition to this, the informal nature of much of traditional African education implies that even through informal occasions, as a Mganda performance was, valuable knowledge was shared.

That changes occurred in the Mganda songs is seen in the changing focus of the major themes in the three phases. Every major change in the socio-political situation meant a corresponding change in the songs used. These changes were directly responsible for the functions that the songs highlighted in the society. In the Simati phase, the concerns centred on the encouragement

given to people to acknowledge new values, cleanliness, modernity and the value of travel. The Chibezu phase on the other hand shows a new emphasis that was laid on attempting to get the travelled people back to their villages and generally help in the reconstruction of the deserted places. The Kandale phase shows a more generalised concern with the wide ranging problems that were faced by the society. These functions are examined under various themes whose subheadings are: Political, Economic and Social commentary.

3.1.3.1 Political Commentary

There is no record of the use of songs for nationalist propaganda during the Simati phase. This was either because the dance was in its early stages of development and the political implications of colonialism were not fully felt or that there was a reactionary acceptance of the values brought by the colonisers. However, references to political topics were made.

Song 1, Fumu ni Mkoko (Mkoko is Chief), was sung in praise of Chief Mkoko's good leadership. This song however, only illustrates the aspect of borrowing that was mentioned earlier on (see p.14). Chief Mkoko ruled in Mozambique hence had

little to do with the people of Mwase-Lundazi. On the other hand, this could have meant that the people that had passed through Mkoko's kingdom either on their way to Halere or back were praising him for their safe trip through his land.

Song 2, Julani bata (Open the peace), is an overtly clear cry for the warring sides in the second world war to stop the carnage and be at peace with each other. Since the role played by Africans in the war was ambivalent, they could only utter dispirited cries to the warring sides. This is stressed in the appeal: Do yaiwe imwe (Oh please you).

The Chibaza phase was marked by some important changes in Mwase-Lundazi. Firstly, there was an increase in the degree of social awareness with the increase in numbers of Schools. People were becoming more aware of the problems that affected their land, hence the attempt to break the pattern of migrations. This had hitherto been taken for granted by the young men seeking modernity.

Secondly, a force that directly suppressed the rise of nationalist struggles was the alliance made between the chief and the colonial government. This alliance did not allow the free rise of any political movement in the area.

the direct suppression of political activities was further noted in the Kandale phase. It is not surprising that though this phase showed the highest level of societal conscientisation in the three phases, the songs used have no direct reference to the political desires of the society. The obvious reason is centred on the banning of political activities in the area. On the other hand, attempts were made to drum up support for the colonial government. It was in light of this that Ezhya_Boma, which was the closest to the chief's headquarters, changed the name to Fedeleshoni when the declaration of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was made in 1953.

The greatest impact that politics had on the Kandale phase of the dance was noted in the organisational set-up of the Bomas. Numbers of dancers were reduced as groups became smaller. This reduction was created partly by the differences in political inclinations amongst the villagers whose attitudes towards the new political groups varied as the chief and the colonialists did not support changes while there was a considerable amount of agitation in the villages. It became difficult to organise the large territorial Bomas due to the differences.

The role of nationalist politics in the development of Mganda was therefore very negative as it led to internal divisions in the groups which finally led to their breakups.

3.1.3.2 Economic Commentary

The large scale popularity of the Mganda dance as has already been observed is said to have been a consequence of people's migrations. The development of the concepts of migrant labour and the money economy received a corresponding rise in the people's expectations. Whereas there was a lot of praise attached to the migrations during the Simati phase, the Chibeza phase was characterised by a new concern in the subjects of the songs. Due to society's demand for the return of the labour migrants the songs used were centred on discussions of economic affairs. Migration was only seen to be profitable if people were going to come back to their villages after acquiring money or property where they had gone to work.

However, the songs varied from absolute disenchantment with the Machona's life style to the showing off by some of those who had come back from Halare to rejoin their groups. Songs 24, 26, 27, 28, and 30 are manifestations of this range. Song 24, Ine ndine nkhumira (I am the one crying),

stresses the disenchantment. The text shows that it was a desperate cry for those that had gone away to come back. It was assumed that the ones overstayng had fallen in love with money so much that they never thought of returning to their villages. The song warned the society of this evil: Uheni wa Ndrama ulisobeska guoyage (The evils of money have cost me a friend). This song is reflective of the destabilisation created by the money economy. The end of the song is illustrative of the frustration: Ole ine naleke (Oh I have stopped). This shows the futility of the attempts made to get the migrants back.

The same tendency to become a Machona is the theme of song 27. A Chirwa bakachona (Mr. Chirwa overstayng). In this case reasons are advanced as to why it was not good to become a Machona. Basing the argument on song 24 above, where the permanent stay in Halare was centred on the love for money, song 27 mourns the behaviour adopted by the men in Halare - their neglect of their wives. The marriage institution was so important that a woman whose husband went away would not remarry as long as there was hope that the husband was still alive even when he never wrote. Such situations created misery for the women and broke up much of the harmony in the villages. This song is a reminder to the Machonas to go back to the village

and visit their families.

A more intimate situation is described in song 26, Munilembele_Kalata (Write me a letter). As in the other situations above, the man is supposed to leave home for Halare. The woman has therefore decided that they be divorced so that she can remarry in case he does not come back. From the experiences described in songs 24 and 27, there is every possibility that the man would not come back. It is logical therefore that the woman should seek divorce.

The reason for coming back could be societal rather than individual. In song 28, Doli_mwana_waga (There is beauty my child), the pride in a man that had come back from Halare is paramount in his singing. He boasts: Nawelabo_Relia_baba (I have come back to Relia). He came back despite the beauty and wonders of Ndola. He claimed to have come back because he wanted to rejoin Relia_Simati_Boma. It was such people that were highly honoured with positions of responsibility.

3.1.3.3. Social Commentary

A discussion of this aspect of the functions of songs used in the Mganda dance is based on the belief that songs about social comment are

meant to enforce conformity to social norms.

Songs used in the Simati phase showed, to a great extent, the values of having travelled. Themes centred on the question of civilisation, modernity and innovation in society. The primary message was surrounded by the pictures of the blissful life led in Halare. The songs played wooing roles tempting the people to make the trips and see the bright sights themselves. Song 5, O_se_na_se_na (Oh smooth and smooth), in its overt nature describes the 'smoothness' of life in Halare. The whole life style there is painted as blissful. If one was to contrast this with the abject poverty that the people lived in in the villages, it was logical that they sought to travel and share in the spoils of Halare.

Song 6, Kuhalare_doli (In Halare there is a beauty), is a direct wooing song for the villagers to make the trip. Iiyeni_tikaone_doli (Lets go and see the beauty) is the basic theme of this and many other songs in the Simati phase. It is likely that such messages contributed strongly to the number of migrants from the area.

Owing much to the already discussed rise in levels of conscientisation, there was a marked increase in the themes dealt with in the songs used in the

Chibeza and Kandale phases. The earlier concentration on migration was expanded to cover the more demonstrative aspects of community life. These longer and more elaborate lyrics were effectively used in disseminating various themes.

(i) Marriage

Texts dealing with marriage are found in all the three phases. These deal with a whole process from wooing as in songs 8, 9 and 42, through married life exposing laziness as in songs 22, 23, 49 and 50, to problems of polygamy as in song 44 and finally child bearing as in song 51.

The marriage institution in the villages started with wooing. The suitor was expected to make his intention known to the girl of his choice in public at the Nihanganeni (girls sleeping place). This was followed by an intricate system of protracted negotiations. However, there was a tendency by the boys to try and meet the girls at the riverside and make their intentions known there. This was divergent from the established norms that prevailed in the society. Song 42, Asungwana ba kwa Mwase (Girls from Mwase), deals with such a situation. In this case, the boys aim at meeting the girls at the riverside to discuss marriage. The girls' response is that this has to

be done correctly but, since the boys insist, they will pretend to be mad, so that they could be sent home.

After the marriage had been contracted, the wife was expected to provide good food for the husband apart from doing her other chores. If, with time, it was discovered that the woman was lazy or just could not cook well, songs were composed deriding such behaviour. Song 49, Sima_Kamphandila (Undercooked food), is such an example. The husband complains that his food is poorly prepared yet he did all the difficult work. He says Chigayo_nchigayo (A grinding mill is a grinding mill) in reference to his untiring efforts to procure food for the home. Due to his wife's laziness he feels let down. He complains: Nachezela_Kuwalo (I have spent the night outside) and Nawela_Mothowa (I have returned on the way). Both expressions are covert and are symbolic of the man's dissatisfaction with his wife.

An almost similar situation is expressed in song 22, Amdala_muli_mumu (Old man are you still in there). The song deals with a failed marriage caused by the woman's poor behaviour. This brings shame on her father who has to hide as people are asking about what caused the divorce. This text, heavily imbued with euphemisms, discusses the

return of the Ngawo (Covering cloth), in this case the woman, to her father's house. The expression Maji_ghapita_pachanya_ne_ulaio_pasi (Water has passed over the bridge), means that the woman has overruled the husband who is the 'bridge' in the home. The woman, who is expected to play a subservient role in the home, has surprisingly overruled the husband hence creating disorder. It is for this reason that she is sent back to her father.

The question of polygamy was an accepted occurrence in the society. The usual problem was co-habitation between wives. The situation was unavoidable with the departure of many young men to Halage. The surplus numbers of women were thus forced into polygamous marriages.

This subject is discussed in song 44, Munyoke akuti_mukapu (The other gets into the cup). The advice in the song is that the co-wives must learn to live and work together much like the ants do.

Failure to procreate creates its own predicaments in any family. Children are always handy when the elders are around as they are sent on errands in the village. One without a child is disadvantaged and suffers untold miseries as she has to use other people's children. Song 51, Napulana

Kulwara (I have feigned illness), is referrent to this theme. The woman in the song has to pretend to be ill to be helped since she has no child of her own.

(ii) Witchcraft

Due to upheavals during the Kandale phase, the large territorial Bomas broke up and smaller ones were formed. Accusations of witchcraft being practised within the rank and file of the dance Bomas were one of the causes of the splits. To this effect, songs were composed and used in the dance that showed people's reactions to the evils of witchcraft in a community.

Songs 37, 38, 39 and 40 are centred on this problem. Song 37 Imwe mumala banyinu (You that finish others), is an apt warning to those involved in the acts to desist from perpetrating them as they were not being helpful to society.

Songs 39 and 40 show one solution i.e. that of witch-hunting. In real life a lot of people went about consulting witchdoctors to eliminate ills that afflicted them. The result was an increase in accusations and fingerprinting. This led to the disruption

in the smooth running of villages, hence splits in the dance Bomas. To solve the problem, diviners were summoned to smell out the wizards and witches. Tensions mounted during witch-hunting sessions as the accused were usually ostracised. An example of a diviner's song is song 40, Nanga_mubike_munkhokwe_namutola (Even if you hid it in the granary I will get it). The diviner in this case is warning the ones that practised witchcraft to desist from perpetrating the activity as he was to smell them out.

The theme of witchcraft received a lot of stress in the Chibaza and Kandale phases. This was caused by the splits in the organisation of both villages and dance Bomas that came out of the disintegration of the large territorial Bomas.

(iii) Self-Praise

Due to the competitive nature of the dance, the politics of inter-group rivalry was greatly shown in the songs sung during the Simati and Kandale phases. In this case the specific mode used was self-praise. Each group found it imperative to praise itself and deride the others because at every competition, their pride was at stake.

Songs 10, 11, 12, 13 and 16 from the Sigati phase are based on a Bomas self-praise. In song 10, Ise tikujikuzga (We are boasting), the theme of self-praise was paramount. The group was proud because its star dancers used swagger sticks. They thus derided their opponents who did not use them. The historical reason for this difference lay in the fact that the Henga version of the dance used sticks while the Tonga did not. It is the Henga version that was being praised in Mwase-Lundazi. This had more appeal in the new areas as it showed great virtuosity in the dancers. Apart from praise due to the use of sticks, the covert implications of this song hinged on the use of the term: Zarogga (Evergreen), reference here was made to the apparently perpetual prowess of the group. They boasted that no other group would ever surpass their evergreen skills.

Other examples of self-praise show more blunt derogatory comments on the opposing Bomas. Songs 14, 15 and 17 are of such nature. Song 15, Ba Mphelembe (You Wild Beasts), overtly derided rival Bomas calling them Bana (Children). The plot of the song reveals that there is such 'great enmity' between the

two groups that they cannot sit together to discuss any issues. The group referred to as Bana is said to be weak and not worth having in a competition that has more powerful Bomas. The visiting team's elders' are referred to as Mphelombe. This is probably in reference to the fact that they are likely to have passed through the forest gathering medicines for use during the competition.

During the Chibeza phase, self-praise was sparingly used. Song 19, Mafumu_yanguungana (Chiefs gathered), discussed the apparent supremacy of Relia_Simati_Boma over their rivals in 'step' making. They boast that they do not do hopping steps: Ise_sitepu_ze_kujwanthira_tikuzikana. This was in reference to the new steps that characterised the late Chibeza and most of the Kandale phases.

Much as in the Simati phase, there were lyrics in the Kandale phase that showed similar self-praise themes. The reason for this was that since the large territorial groups were breaking up into smaller ones, each of the new Bomas wanted to assert its superiority over its opponents. As in the earlier phase, they derided the rivals while

lauding their positions and valour. Songs 41, 45, 46 and 48 deal with various forms of self-praise used in this phase.

Song 48, Zikabakona soni (They were shamed), can be compared with song 16, Uyo wakene Relia (He that denies Relia). In both cases the songs deal with the assertion of authority over rival Bomas. The difference was noted in the fact that during the Simati phase, the groups were larger hence song 16 refers to chiefdoms and large territorial Bomas. The Kandale phase had smaller groups based on either individual villages or smaller territories.

(iv) Hygiene

The theme of hygiene in the Mganda dance is closely linked with the initial values that the dance professed in the early stages of its development (see p. 16-17) and later during the Chibeza and Kandale phases, a deliberate campaign by the colonial government to educate people on the value of cleanliness. The campaign was enforced by annual inspection tours made by the Chief and the District Commissioner. In this collection, songs 33, 34, 35 and 36 deal with this theme. Song 33, Mokhwapa mkunukha

(Your armpit is stinking), is an overt appeal to the people to maintain high standards of cleanliness. To enforce it further, those that did not take the advice were deemed crazy: Ndiuwe azeleza.

Songs 34 and 35 dwell on the subject of sexually transmitted diseases. Though no reference is made to the origins of the disease in the texts, it was generally acknowledged that venereal diseases (Gozoli) were brought into the villages from the towns. Efforts were made to cleanse the recently returned men as they were suspected to be carrying the diseases. Only after they had taken cleansing medicines were they allowed to mix freely with the women in the villages. This marked awareness of the malady is reflected in the use of songs warning people of the problems.

3.1.4 The Function of Contribution to Social and Cultural Stability

Mganda dance songs have been discussed as having functions relating to emotional expression, recreation and aesthetic enjoyment and that of cohesion. It can, in this light, be concluded that a sum total of these functions shows how

music helps in social and cultural stability. This makes the function of contribution to social and cultural stability a conclusive and most encompassing one.

The syncretism of the dance shows that in the face of enormous social, economic and political changes, a special form of communication as the dance shows to have been can be developed and maintained to levels where it is ubiquitous.

During performances, people expressed pride in the cultural values surrounding them hence the self-praise. This attempt at participating in something familiar integrated groups that felt they were sharing similar values. At the same time "through the transmission of education, control of erring members of the society and its determination of what is right,"³⁵ whether overtly or covertly, songs contribute to the stability of a culture. Continuity of correct societal norms is almost assured as people listen to the songs and are affected by the messages in them.

CHAPTER FOUR

LITERARY FEATURES OF MGANDA DANCE SONGS

4.0 The Song as Lyric Poetry

That the phenomenon of the Mganda dance song can be termed literature comes from, firstly, the generalisation that music making is one of the most common activities in African societies. Much of this music is looked at as "A human phenomenon produced by people, for people and existing and functioning in a social situation".³⁶ Taken as it is therefore, one of the most obvious ways for understanding the phenomenon is by analysing the song texts themselves. Secondly, for the songs to be part of the discussion they must be determined as lyric poetry which is "a short poem intended to be sung".³⁷

A characteristic that will help in distinguishing these texts as poems is that of emotion. The texts are concerned with the conveying of emotions that accompanied the experiences of the performers. With this characteristic in mind, each one of the songs can be seen to be a highly organised sound pattern that produces the impressions of an out-pouring of intense personal

or group feelings.

If the singing occasions are numerous, it can be concluded that the subject matter is also vast. This assumption allows for consideration of language, themes and to a certain degree the styles that must be created in the norms of the society's creation of its literature. The song texts, which though may have poetic features, imitate as far as possible the language of the people that created them. The product is a figure of speech prompted by the performer's passions, which is accepted by everyone in the community as part of their literature.

When the occasion for the presentation of the song is excluded, what remains is the text which is, in construction, deliberately reduced to a specific form. This 'form' sums up the creation of lyric poetry. Of this Bowra (1963) says:

When words are made to conform to a musical tune, they provide one of the most elemental forms of poetry known to us; for they are reduced to a deliberate word order and made to fulfil a function quite different from that of common talk.. 38

The song can always be seen to possess these extra linguistic qualities that differentiate it from

source of the songs. Since the dance was derived from Nyasaland, there is evidence that the songs too were borrowed. On this Kelitara Mtonga said:

It is true to date. Songs are still being borrowed from Malawi. Individuals or even whole Bomas these days still travel to Malawi and get apprenticed for a week or so. Then they come back with new songs and dance steps. 40

The second source of songs is the result of the secular nature of the dance. Since possibilities were there for borrowing of songs from other dances and singing occasions, Mganda dance freely borrowed songs whose rhythm was changed to fit into that of the dance. Song 52, Chiwala⁴¹ (Grasshopper), is from an oral narrative.

Composition of songs from within the group was also common. Situations affecting individuals or groups were fertile sources of numerous compositions. This type of composition can be seen to be done through enculturation. As people learnt of their cultures, so did they learn to use the materials therein. Contemporary issues became sources of many dance songs like song 53,⁴² Gafari.

It has been a running argument in this dissertation that the song was a product of the

society's feelings. One must take it that in themes, mood and method the songs have to conform as closely as possible to the desires of the same society.

The earliest recorded Uganda dance songs have two prominent features. Either they were completely instrumentalised or they had single vocalised lines that were padded with instrumental parts, the reason here being that they were highly imitative of the military origins of the dance, especially in the brass section. Where the traditional song types overrode the imitation, one line composition techniques were employed. In the nature of traditional African dance song composition, only the core of the song mattered. "The unit was a line, the short simple statement which may be and is often repeated but is complete in itself and forms the whole song".⁴³ What was important was that the one line brought out in its truncated form the thematic concerns of the whole song. This is evidenced in songs 7, Dale-tive (Darling let's go), 8, Balijalira_ways (They fenced them with a wire) and song 9, Batola_mwali (They married a virgin). The 'meaningless' parts (instrumental lines) helped in the creation of the drama. The sections with the meaningless parts served to prepare the listener for the

climax that arrived with the meaningful line and sometimes a repetition of the melody.

Due to an interplay with other sources of song, a rise in levels of literary appreciation in the societies, since songs could be written down and developed, and the desire to traditionalise the dance (by casting the composition into the realm of composition of songs for other dances), it was inevitable that longer compositions be used in the dance. These were at times expanded single line compositions. There was the use of repetition as the same line was sung by the cantor and the chorus. The final line was elongated as it indicated the end of the song. This was one way of creating verses in the songs. Song 12, Mbiri (Fame), is an illustration of this technique:

Mbiri mbiri
Mbiri mbiri
Mbiri yaluta lelo yaluta mbiri
.....
Fame fame
Fame fame
Fame has spread today this fame has spread.

Finally, longer compositions with more than one verse were common in the texts. This was more so in the Chitawala stage of a performance. In most cases this was based on a solo and chorus form as will be discussed later (see p.75). The reason for this was that they followed group singing

rather than individual performance.

4.2 Forms of Singing

The form of an African dance song is derived partly from the context in which it is used; hence the stress on the actualisation as the determining factor and partly from the form of verbal texts on which the singing pattern is based. This is the basis for the re-arrangement or flexibility of the texts as they are usually focussed on the situation where they are performed. Song 54, Bachayana pachangena (They hit the target), illustrates this flexibility. The song was recorded on two separate occasions with different groups. The differences are noted in both their lengths and depth of detail.

In actualisation or performance, the song is dependent on numbers of people involved in the singing and the alterations made to those that are borrowed. To a large extent, the songs are antiphonal. "There is response of some kind between the soloist and the chorus and the song depends on the alternation between the two parts".⁴⁴ The soloist or cantor has a special role to play in this actualisation. Usually he is the determining factor on what song is to be sung,

what variation is to be included, the length of the song variations and indeed the whole performance of the song is dependent on him. This at times is in disregard of the structural determinacy of the text (items like repetition can be endless until the cantor decides to end the song). Different forms of singing are used in the Mganda.

4.2.1 The A --- B Form

This is the simplest form of song. There is an alternation of two phrases between the cantor and the chorus in dialogue form. this could be done endlessly. Song 5, Oo se na se na (O smooth and smooth), is a case in point.

Cantor:	Ose na se na
Chorus:	Telelile
Cantor:	O sena sena Mucharu cha Rhodesha
Chorus:	Telelile

The instrumental parts are taken as emotive sounds brought in as padding devices to make up the verse. Variations of this pattern are many and are freely used in the texts under discussion.

The first variation is found in song 32, Sole ba kalwepa (sorry Luenas). The cantor's lines are

varied while the chorus has static ones. It is possible in this pattern that the variations in the cantor's lines are for the effect of parallelism (see p.83-85) as the case is in this song. A less common variation of this pattern is found in song 8, Balijalira waya (they encircled them with a wire). The lines of the cantor are static while those of the chorus change.

The second variation common in these texts can be presented as ABCD. The essence in this case is that the cantor and the chorus sing through a verse or a whole song in an alternating way without repetition of the lines. In here too, the line variations can be endless until the cantor deems it fit to end the song. This is exemplified partially in song 11, Mungapikomera khingi wane (Do not kill my king).

4.2.2 Solo and Chorused Refrain

Variations of this pattern are more intricate and technical. It is worth noting therefore that this pattern is sparingly used in this collection.

The first variation has the cantor singing a short introduction of the song and the chorus then pick it up completing the rest of it. The introduction as in song 37, Iwe mupala banyiru (You that

eliminate others), may be part of the verse.

Cantor: Imwe mumaia banyinu
 Chorus: { Imwe mumaia banyinu tetetete
 Owe namwe mwamukufwa tetetete
 Chiuta wali na banyinu tetetete

In this song, the first line is sung by the cantor and the next three are performed by the chorus. A prominent feature of such songs is their ephemerality which subsequently leaves much room for repetition.

The second variation is the more formal solo and chorus type. This is found in song 43, Ningaphike dende uli (What relish shall I prepare). In this case the cantor sings a whole verse and the chorus also sing a verse which may be repeated after the second and subsequent verses from the cantor. The apparent unpopularity of this pattern emanates from the fact that it tends to be elaborate and hence rather long for a dance sequence.

4.2.3 Mixed Sectional Form

This is the most common pattern in the forms of singing under discussion. In here both the A-B and solo and chorussed refrain forms are used in one song. Song 42 is such an example:

Cantor: Asungwana ba kwa Mwase
 Chorus: Muhanya tikumane kudamboko hole.
 Cantor: Asungwana ba kwa Mwase
 Chorus: Muhanya tikumane kudamboko hole
 Chorus: { Nizelezerekele dala
 Panji bangati welanga
 Kudamboko hole.

Different variations of this pattern also exist.

The first variation is found where there is call and response in the first verse and then the second verse is performed as a refrain by the whole group. Songs 47 *Zilile* (You cry) illustrates this variation.

The second variation is the opposite of the first one. In songs 17, *Angoni kusamasama* (These Ngoni wanderings) and 31, *Bakananga mbafwiti* (The wizards were wrong), which are *Chitawala* songs, the emphasis is laid on group singing. In this case, the chorus sings the whole of the first verse and then there is call and response or dialogue pattern in the second verse which is actually the refrain. The aesthetic value of this song pattern is seen during the performance. Where the dialogue pattern is interwoven beautifully between the cantor and the chorus.

The chronological development of the three phases had its own significance in the development of songs used. At the outset it is noted that the most common forms of singing were the A-B and mixed sectional (see table).

	PHASE		
	Simati	Chibeza	Kandale
FORM			
A-B	9	5	6
Solo-Chorussed Refrain	0	2	3
Mixed Sectional	8	8	16

From the table a certain number of conclusions can be drawn. In the Simati phase, the two forms of singing were used because the dance was in its formative years. The Antiphonal singing of most traditional dancing was therefore used. The songs were short and highly repetitive.

Of the 15 songs in the Chibeza phase, the mixed sectional form was most popular. Owing to the use in interplay with other dance forms and enculturation of the people, longer compositions were possible. It is in the Chibeza phase that one notes the first appearance of the solo chorussed refrain form and the more expressive longer compositions not common in the Simati phase.

The Kandale phase has the largest number of songs recorded. Of the 25, 16 were mixed sectional form. Generally the songs in this phase were longer and more expressive than those of the earlier phases. Again, much of this owed to the social functions of the songs in the contexts

where they were performed.

Mention needs to be made of the fact that most of the songs in the Chitawala part of the performance were of the mixed sectional form. It is largely due to this that in all the phases this form of singing was very prevalent.

4.3

The Nature of Poetry

The view that a relationship exists between dance and song in the creation of lyric poetry can be based on Bowras (1962) summation that:

Song is based on the rhythmical movements which may take the form of dance or pantomime or both, and when words are added and made to conform rhythmically to them then poetry begins. 45

In this argument, the song will have to be contextualised in the performance of the dance as it is the rhythm of the dance that determines what the singing should be like. In essence, the song has a greater richness and concentration in the language form used. It is more evocative, emotive and more memorable in the minds of both the performer and the audiences. These qualities are seen to be enforced by the use of numerous features that are common to poetry, the most important which are discussed below include

emotive sounds, ideophones and onomatopoeia, repetition and language. These were common in all the phases of the dance.

4.3.1 Emotive Sounds

Though songs may be taken to consist of intelligible units of communication, there is an existence of meaningless sounds that are found in songs and are used for various purposes. These sounds form the most common part of the songs. They are meaningless but highly important stylistically and more so rhythmically. In the texts under discussion, there are songs that combine instrumental parts with word patterns. In this dissertation, the instrumental parts are taken as emotive sounds. The reason being that during my research, no interviewee could replace them with any meaningful words. It was always stated that the songs were sung that way. On the whole then, emotive sounds are present in nearly all songs. Their purposes are to fill the lines, add length to the song as it is performed and they form an important rhythmic part of the refrain.

The presence of emotive sounds in songs is easy to find for a native speaker of the language but their transcription is problematic as they can

only be indicated by doubling the representative letter for long ones and vice versa for short ones. They could, however, come at the beginning of the line as in song 4, Balowe (Let them bewitch):

Gg balowe
Gg balowe

Gg let them bewitch
Gg let them bewitch

Used in this form, the sounds prepare the singers for their lines as they play the role of introductions.

In song 14, Bainge (Let them wander), another pattern of emotive sounds is shown. In this case it is placed in the middle of the line to add length to it. It is a complete utterance in itself but has neither a thematic meaning nor importance. Its length is indeterminate as it is dependent on the length of the line which in itself is dependent on the rhythm of the song:

Bainge gg bainge bamale charu

 Let them wander gg let them wander all over

A third occurrence of these sounds is found at the end of the sentences. In this position, they could be in two forms. Either as a suffix appended to the last word hence adding length to it as in song 36, Sebera za Chanda (Chanda's games):

Tafwakose nilihuleee

.....

Tafwakose is a prostituteee

.....

Or as a complete utterance on its own as in song 28, Doli mwana wane (There is beauty my child):

Doli mwana wane ku Ndola wee

.....

There is beauty in Ndola my child wee

.....

Since the instrumental parts have in this dissertation been taken as emotive sounds, it is noted that they form complete lines. They may be seen to be a kind of language or mode of communication in the whole performance. These lines are also used for their pleasant tones. Song 5, O se na se na (Oh smooth and smooth), is illustrative of such lines:

O se na se na

Telelile

O se na se na mu charu cha Rhodisha

Telelile

.....

Oh smooth and smooth

Telelile

Oh smooth and smooth in Rhodesia

Telelile

.....

On the same level, there are songs that have vocalised emotive sounds. These are no better than the instrumental type. They also take whole lines as in song 38, Uyo wakome adada (He that will kill my father):

Aweeee
Ninjani walimenge ole
Aweeee
Ninjani walimenge olewe
Chankharamu kuminda

Aweeeeee
who will hoe oh
Aweeeeee
Who will hoe oh
The weeds at the field.

4.3.2 Ideophones and Onomatopoeias

The purpose of ideophones and onomatopoeias is to convey more graphically the meaning than descriptive terms or emotive sounds can do. The idea is to make the style of presentation more terse, picturesque and different from ordinary speech. Their presence though may be like emotive sounds as they can be found in the middle or at the end of the lines. They at times constitute whole lines.

The first illustration of an ideophone is found in the dramatisation of the act of chickens shown in

song 51, Napulana_kulwana (I have feigned illness). The ideophone appears in the middle of the sentence:

Tunkhuku twati waka mbg pa gaga

The chickens have crowded mbg over the mealie-meal

The one word mbg describes the crowding of chickens around the mat on which the mealie-meal has been spread to dry.

In song 37, Imwe_mumala_banyinu (You that eliminate others), the ideophone is placed at the end of the line:

Imwe mumala banyinu tetetete
Owe namwe mwamukufwa tetetete
Chiuta wali na banyinu tetetete

You that eliminate others tetetete
Oh you will also die tetetete
God be with your friends tetetete

Here the ideophone Tetetete refers to the absolute annihilation of the people through witchcraft.

As has been indicated earlier, ideophones could easily constitute whole lines. In Song 44, Munyake_akuti_mukapu (One goes into the cup), the

action of the ants is indicated by such an ideophone:

Vindundu ivyo
Vilikubilikubili
 Vindundu asungwana
Vilikubilikubili

Those ants
Vilikubilikubili
 Those ants girls
Vilikubilikubili

The meaning of Vilikubilikubili lies in the busy nature of ants as they run about executing their chores.

Onomatopoeia is the imitation of natural sounds in the sound of words. This is a special feature of the language that gets used only when it is required. Song 56, Uyo wakome kowela (He that will kill the Cuckoo), has an illustration of this:

Uyo wakome kowela lelo
 Vingati chapachapa amama ndine kowela eee

One that will kill the cuckoo
 It will rain chapachapa mother I am a cuckoo

The sounds chapachapa are taken from those made by rain as it falls into pools of water.

It can be concluded therefore that ideophones and onomatopoeia are semantically important in the creation of poetry. This can be contrasted

with the use of emotive sounds in the texts, the latter being thematically meaningless.

4.3.3 Repetition

The most actively used guise in the structuring of a whole performance of song is that of repetition. It formulates the general background against which the prosodic features of poetry may be seen. One reason for this is as Greenway (1964) states;

A compelling reason for the repetition in primitive literature is the poverty of the texts. Without repetition and other padding devices, many people would have nothing left to sing about. 46

Though Greenways' definition of primitive people cannot be used as a yardstick for the level of literary development of the people of Mwase - Lundazi during the period covered by the study, his construct on song composition is the basis of creation of songs among traditional societies. Much of the creation of songs is imbued with repetition due to the ephemerality of the texts. To sustain the action of the dance, the songs can be repeated endlessly.

The second reason for the use of repetition

techniques is that most of the songs are concerned with concrete presentations of ideas in terms of their composition. The emphasis is laid much more on making the message clear than on the length of the text. The theme of the song is the basis of its creation hence its being expressed in single lines. This in turn is repeated as often as is deemed necessary. This fundamentality of theme repetition is supported by Bowra (1960) who says; "The theme is thought to be of such importance that it is stressed by repetition...."⁴⁷

Finally, the general purpose of repetition is to create unity between the song and the drums. Though they vary in both themes and lengths, songs are expected to conform to certain rhythms so as to orchestrate the dance well.

Various forms of repetition are used in the dance songs. Some of these are purely rhythmical. Song 55, *Wawa*, has the repetition of the meaningless word throughout. Its greatest tenet is that it has a rhythmical stand. For longer songs, most of them have a call and response pattern that may have the main repetition of the theme in the strophe. This not only emphasises the theme of the song but constitutes in the form pattern the basic song unit. What follows is the refrain.

4.3.3.1 Anaphoric Repetition

In this case, the beginning phrases of the lines are repeated. The situation created is that of two phrases or more which may be written on two lines but are from one idea. In song 16, Uyo wakana Relia (He that has denied Relia), this form is exemplified:

Uyo wakana Relia Jikulu la Boma ninjani wangeluwaca
Uyo wakana Relia wakana ndiye

He that denies Relia as a headquarter will never forget

He that denies Relia has denied himself

Though in performance this song is done on call and response basis, the theme is brought out by repetition. Here the phrases at the beginning of the sentences embody the theme of the song. For the aesthetic part, repetition helps in the fitting of the song into the group dialogue singing. The repeated parts play the roles of leaders' parts.

4.3.3.2 Incremental Repetition

Though this may be linked with the anaphoric form of repetition, it possesses its own characteristics that differentiate it from the other type. In song

5. O se na se na (O smooth and smooth), an example is shown:

O se na se na
Telelile
O se na se na mu charu cha Rhodisha
Telelile
O se na se na mu charu cha Halare mu Rhodisha
Telelile

O smooth and smooth
Telelile
O smooth and smooth in Rhodesia
Telelile
O smooth and smooth in Halare in Rhodesia
Telelile

There is increment in the amount of information provided as the song progresses. This is in aid of presenting an aesthetically well knit song. Its basic form is the increase of information progressively given in the main lines of the stanza. The final line has a full description of the message.

4.3.3.3 Parallelism

This is another structural guise that is often used in the Mganda dance. It is usually indicated by the change in the syntactical aspects of the sentence while the meaning remains the same. Song 53, Gafeni, illustrates this element:

.....
 Aheli
 Gafari wayowoya
 Yowoya iwe
 Gafari wakaragha
 Yowoya iwe

Oh yes
 Gafari talked
 Talked yes
 Gafari explained
 Talked yes

Both wayowoya and wakaragha are expressive of the complaining that the Asian did when he was robbed. Parallelism was thus achieved in the use of the two words.

Alternatively, such parallelism could involve syntactical elements that only allude to one thematic concern. Song 32, Sole ba kalwena (Sorry Luenas), is of such nature:

Sole ba kalwena mwizira mushatini
 A hole muti muphyoke
Sole mwa banyithu mwizira muthengere
 A hole muti muphyoke

Sorry you Luenas you have come through the
 bush
 Watch out you will break you legs
 Sorry our friends you have come through the
 bush
 Watch out you will break your legs

The use of ba kalwena mwizira mushatini and mwa banyithu mwizira muthengere shows the subtlety of the expression of messages deriding each other. Kalwena, used to show that these people are

strangers at the Boma was covered by panyitns in the parallel.

A major function of this form of repetition is thus seen to be the improvement of the aesthetics of the texts in contrast with common repetition that usually creates monotony.

4.3.4 Language

The concept of language will be discussed under various sub-headings that are to be illustrations of its manifestations, viz; Linguistic borrowing, Euphony, Imagery, Euphemism, Allusion and Rhythm..

4.3.4.1 Linguistic Borrowing

Numerous features mentioned in other parts of this dissertation e.g. social mobility, degree of conscientisation, etc, are pointers to what the vocabulary used in the song texts could have been like. Though the indigeneous language for the dance was Tumbuka, numerous borrowed linguistic expressions are found in the lyrics. As a literary guise, their presence can be justified on two grounds. Firstly, that for certain concepts, there was no equivalent in the local language or better still that the borrowed word had become a local

register. Secondly, that the borrowed terms fitted into the rhythms of the songs better than the local terms.

The borrowings could have been from English as in many instances, e.g. in song 19, Mafumu_yanguungana (Chiefs gathered):

Ise sitepu za kujwanthira tikuzikana

We do not want hopping steps

The word sitepu is borrowed from the English word 'step'. In this case it replaces a longer Tumbuka equivalent which would have wrecked the rhythm of the song. The local register would have been kayiniro. This was going to make the sentence longer:

Ise kayiniro ka kujwanthira tikukana

A special feature of these borrowings is that they were so integrated into the local language that they were hardly thought of as being foreign. No explanation was required when they were used as everyone apparently knew them.

A more artistic corruption is the reduction of a borrowed word purely for creating rhythm. In song 7, Dale_tiyē (Darling let us go), the English word

'darling' is reduced to Dale.

Linguistic borrowings are also made from other African languages. In Song 32, Sole_ba_kalwena (Sorry you Luenas), the word mushatini (Bush) was borrowed from one of the Southern Rhodesian languages. In this song it is used to provide a parallel to Nuthengere which was a Tumbuka term for bush.

4.3.4.2 Euphony

For the sake of euphony, musical requirements demand alterations in the patterns of normal speech. Euphony in this case may be in the ellision of a vowel or a complete syllable. As can be deduced, this is a special verbalisation pattern which may require special knowledge into the language in which the device is used.

In song 42, Asungwana_ba_kwa_Mwase (Girls from Mwase), the line:

Mhanya tikumane kudamboko hole
.....

Lets meet at the riverside later

has a cluster of two words in kudamboko. These being kudambo and uko. In this case, therefore,

for euphony the vowel /u/ has been dropped and a new structuration kudamboko has been formed.

The ellision of a syllable may be done on the same principle as that of a vowel. In these texts, such ellision is done by dropping a syllable from a long word. Song 26, Munilembere_kalata (Write me a letter), illustrates this:

Anyajere munilembere kalata nam'wela ine

Miss Jere write me a letter I will come back.

There is a dropping of syllables in Nam'wela. The full form being Namukuwela. The vowel /u/ and syllable /ku/ have been dropped. Such ellision either of a vowel or a syllable is seen to be done purely for the sake of rhythm.

4.3.4.3 Imagery

In the discussion on ideophones and onomatopoeia, the conclusion drawn was that they were used for the production in the minds of the spectators of a picturesque effect nearly the same as that created by sight. This also is the area covered by the concept of metaphor. Longer utterances are used in the creation of these two figures of speech. In this way, some of the most powerful demonstrative

and educational messages are delivered to the audience.

In an attempt to create for the untravelled villagers in Mwase - Lundazi a demonstrative picture of the life in Halace, songs in the Simati phase used a lot of imagery. Song 6, Kubalere_doli (There is beauty in Halace), depicts the beauty of life in Halace. When this was compared with the life in the villages, it became inevitable that the people be attracted by the descriptions of the far off lands.

A common figure of speech used in the songs in all the phases is the metaphor. In usage, emphasis is put on subtlety as the literariness of the used metaphor was likely to make the reception of the song favourable or otherwise. A prominent feature of the self-praise songs was the individual group's derogatory remarks made against rival Bomas. Song 15, Ba_Mpbelemba (You Wild Beasts), paints a lowly picture of the elders in the rival Boma. They are referred to as Mpbelemba (Wild Beasts). This brings to the mind of the listener the picture of animals wandering in the forest. Here the metaphor - Mpbelemba - is referent to the suspected trip that the elders made to the forest to look for medicine to be used by their group during the performance.

Apart from demonstrative and derogatory images, and metaphors, there were some that were created for the expression of social comment. Since most of the themes were of social nature, this type of images could be based on any of the social concerns of the song. Song 49, Sima kamphandila (Undercooked Nshima), recreates images reflecting laziness in contrast to hard work. The situation described is that of a husband who is disgusted with the way his wife looked after him. The man's struggle to procure food is equated to the work rate of a grinding mill. He uses the metaphor: Chigayo undibe (I am a grinding mill) and, in trying to show the futility of his relationship with his wife, he sings: Nachezela kuwalo (I have spent the night outside), the image created here is that of desperation. The husband feels he was better as a bachelor since he never really had a home. His married life is a failure.

4.3.4.4 Euphemism

The primary in the use of figurative language in songs usually came from the desire to artistically present situations that could not be plainly stated. The reason for this being that the recreational nature of the dance could not take kindly to direct attacks on individuals or groups

of people especially if this dealt with social stratification. Euphemisms were used to cover these direct comments.

Song 22, Amdala_muli_mumo (Old man are you still in there), is a serious social comment on the need for the proper up-bringing of girls before they are married off otherwise they would be sent back by their husbands. The song describes one such case where a daughter has been chased by a husband because of her un-becoming behaviour. The line Nguwo_yane_yawela (My cloth has come back) refers to the coming back of the girl to her father's house. She is called Nguwo (cloth) because she is supposed to play the role of 'covering' her husband in her married life. She is divorced because she has done the opposite of what was expected of her. The sentence: Maji_ghapita_pachanya_na_uiaio_uli_pasi (Water has passed over the bridge), depicts an upsetting of the usual course of events. Inferences here point towards the woman having assumed extra powers and subjugating her husband which was contrary to the widely accepted norm of a traditional marriage where the man was superior in the home.

4.3.4.5 Allusions

The Mganda dance lyrics can, as has been done, be

divided into various phases. It is evident that in some cases the songs were created for a particular period and it would be anachronistic to place them in a different phase. Allusions which in here are references to some historical events and practices are used frequently and possess a function of providing certain historical data that would show what was topical at a given period.

It can be safely argued that due to the interests of the people during the Simati phase, most of the songs centred on the need to show how widely one had travelled. Groups centred their allusions on this primary theme and the society responded with the massive exodus to Halare. The second phase of the dance - Obibeza - shows a disenchantment with the exodus. In its own way, it attempts to dissuade people from making the trip to Halare. The attempt was to promote the reconstruction of village life. The Kandale phase centres much on the topicalisation of issues depending on what was the issue at hand. This is why the subject matter in this phase is vast.

4.3.4.6 Rhythm

The essential rhythm in the Mganda dance song is

not primarily based on the creation of syllabic feet but rather on that created by the percussion instruments. The master drum orchestrates the singing of the song by signalling the beginning and the pauses in the performance. The drum alternates between these two parts by creating a general rhythm when there is no singing and another when singing is being done. Certain pauses coincide with certain beats of the master drum creating a rhythm for a particular song which cannot be used to generalise for every other song. Consistency is only found in the small drums that are used in the creation of cross-rhythmic patterns in the music offered by the drum orchestra.

The dance step also determined the rhythm of the drumming and hence the song. The aesthetics of a groups performance in the competition were appreciated if it showed versatility in a variety of dance steps. This variety meant that of the drumming sequences and so that of the songs either when vocalised or when played on the Mabaja.

This dependence on percussions rather than on words for rhythm prevents the creation of a mechanical or mathematical regularity that would create monotony in the singing. On the other hand, during the singing, the pauses between the cantor and the

chorus have in their own way a rhythmical weight that makes it difficult to retain the calculation of stress as in feet. The only resemblance with the uniformity of rhythm is noted in the repetitions, emotive sounds, onomatopoeia, etc, as already discussed in this chapter. It is true, therefore, that in the songs used in the Mganda dance, the creation of poetry does not depend on the use of calculated feet but the basic rhythms set by the percussion instruments and the particular dance step being executed.

During the development of the dance in the three phases, certain changes are noted in the basic rhythm created by the drum orchestra. It is mentioned in Chapter Two that there were differences in the execution of the dance steps between the Simati and Kandale phases with Chibeza being the transformational phase. The Simati phase with its emphasis on militaristic march-pasts did not have the virtuous exertions of Kandale phase. This being the case the dance patterns changed the rhythms of the songs. However, the Chitawala part of the performance was noted to maintain the same rhythm in all the three phases as emphasis in this case was put on the militaristic march-pasts.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

The driving force behind this study has been an attempt to justify that the Mganda dance was clearly communal, popular, informal and above all ubiquitous. Its social functionality is, therefore, noted in the relationship between the dance (kinematics and music) and the society's norms. This is argued from the fact that the three phases discussed in Chapter Two have songs that are topical for particular periods. Also that changes in the wider societal behaviours marked changes in the focus of the dance songs. These changing contexts were the basis for the changing thematic concerns of the songs.

The significance of the actual performance is the main justifier for calling the Mganda dance songs literature. Firstly, the songs are noted to have been very topical in the themes that they dealt with. They were noted to have possessed specific functions in the places where they were performed. Some of the functions are reflected in the changes in the behaviour of the people in the society, e.g. one would directly equate the massive migrations of people during the Simati phase as

having been partly enhanced by the modernity values expressed in the songs used in the dance.

Secondly, as oral literature, the songs are taken to be lyric poetry. The nature of composition, forms of singing and the numerous guises used qualify the terming of the songs as lyric poetry. This poetry is appreciated aesthetically as is seen in the pride attached to the performance of a Chitawala song or functionally as the thematic concerns of most of the songs show.

It can be concluded from the discussion in this dissertation that despite the military origins, Mganda was rapidly traditionalised. This is shown in the changes in organisational and performance patterns and also the use of traditional qualities that transcended the military origins, e.g. during the Chibga phase, the transformations in the dance showed that the militarisation was used as an organisational force only as the dance took on the vigorous exertions that are typical of most traditional African dances. The songs also developed from the stress on imitation of military music to socially topical songs whose role was recognisable in the society, where they were performed, as a potent social stratification force.

FOOTNOTES

1. J. Mitchell, The Kalela Dance. (Manchester; Manchester University Press, 1956) p.12
2. I. Linden, Catholics, Peasants and Chewa Resistance in Nyasaland, 1859 - 1939 (London; Heinemann 1974) p.110
3. NAZ,KST. 3/1, District Notebooks for Lundazi. Vol.1, 1937, p.1
4. R. Short, African Sunset. (London; Johnson 1973) p.204
5. Ibid P.205 Op.cit
See also J. Van Donge, "An Episode from the Independence Struggle in Zambia". in African Affairs, Vol. 84, No.335 passim.
6. J. Mitchell, Ibid. p.viii
7. Interview, W. Muyayi, 29 December 1986. (The Boma was called Thilanziva (Transvaal) and was based at Nkhombokombo village.
8. T. Ranger, Dance and Society in Eastern Africa, 1890 - 1970. (Berkeley; University of California Press 1975) p.67 Op cit
9. D. Kerr & M. Nambote, "The Malipenga Mime on Likoma Island." Staff Seminar Paper, Chancellor College, Zomba. 1982, p.3.
10. Interview, Senior Chief Mwase - Lundazi, 30 December 1986.
11. T. Ranger, Ibid. p.108.
12. Ibid. p. 115
13. Interview; K. Mtonga, 7 January 1987.
14. Interview; W. Muyayi, Ibid.
15. Interview; K. Nyirenda, 3 January 1987.
16. Interview; U. Moyo, 8 January 1987.
17. Interview; L. Nyirenda, 4 January 1987.
18. Fwemba, is an borrowed term from Bemba language meaning 'to grab'. In its origins, it was used by militant youths to urge people to support Nationalist movements on the Copperbelt. The threat 'Ndekufwemba' meaning 'I will grab you' used by the Youths to coerce people into joining them was taken to the country-side by the returning migrants. Since it was not easy to use the

Mganda dance for political purposes, the youths borrowed the Mganda discipline but called their dance 'fwemba' and their organisations Bulabci (branches) as opposed to Bomas in Mganda. With the rise of political activity in the area, Fwemba completely overshadowed the Mganda. This continued till 1964 when the country became independent. Fwemba faded out of prominence and Mganda rose again.

- 19 J. Van Donge, "An Episode from the Independence Struggle in Zambia," African Affairs Vol. 84, No.335 1985, p.272

- 20 Boma., Two schools of thought exist about the origins of this term.

(i) That it was a Swahili word meaning government or a central administration place.

(ii) That it was an acronym formed from British Overseas Military Administration (Boma). The use of the term BOMA by the colonial masters during the 1914 - 1918 campaigns implied a central administration place. In Mganda it was used to describe the area covered by the dance club. All villages in the area were classified as belonging to that Boma. The term was also used to mean the dance arena.

- 21 Interview. M. Kanyinji, 30 December, 1986

- 22 Interview. M. Kanyinji, Ibid

- 23 Interview. M. Kanyinji, Ibid.

- 24 A. Merriam, The Anthropology of Music. (Bloomington; North Western University Press, 1964) p.4.

- 25 S. Nadel, Foundations of Social Anthropology, (Glencoe Free Press, 1970) p.368.

- 26 R. Finnegan, Oral Literature in Africa. (London; Oxford University press, 1970) p.272.

- 27 K. Nketia, The Music of Africa. (London; Victor Gallancy, 1970) p.189.

- 28 F. Gulliver, "Dancing Clubs of the Nyasa," Tanganyika Notes and Records No. 41, 1953 p.59.

- 29 P. Komakoma, Mganda Kapena Malipenga. (Limbe; Malawi Publications Bureau, 1965) p.7.

- 30 Interview, Senior Chief Mwase - Lundazi. Ibid.

- 31 P. Komakoma. Ibid. p.34.

- 32 Interview, M. Kanyinji. Ibid.

- 33 Ibid.
- 34 A. Merriam, Ibid. p.223
- 35 Ibid. p.225.
- 36 Ibid. p.187.
- 37 R. Finnegan, Ibid. p.241
- 38 C. Bowra, Primitive Song. (London; Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1962) p.1
- 39 L. Vail and L. White, "Paiva; The History of Song," Seminar Paper, UNZA, 1977, Passim. Though the songs discussed in this paper are extremely useful in the definition of the workers position on the plantations, the language used in the lyrics is extremely vulgar.
- 40 Interview: K. Mtonga, Ibid.
- 41 In its original form in the oral narrative the song is sung by a step-mother who has lost his step-son's grasshopper. The insect was used by the son to punish his cruel step-mother. In Nganda, there is the addition of the second verse which doesn't exist in the oral narrative version.
- 42 Gafari was a prosperous Asian in Mwase-Lundazi. He was robbed and the thieves were reported to have crossed the border into Malawi. This made their arrest difficult hence Gafari remained lamenting his loss.
- 43 C. Bowra, Ibid. p.61
- 44 R. Finnegan, Ibid. p.259
- 45 C. Bowra, Ibid p.30
- 46 J. Greenway, Literature Among the Primitives (Hatboro; Pennsylvania, 1964) p.120.
- 47 C. Bowra, Ibid. p.77.

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2. Muyayi Widson, Nkhuluzombe Village, 29 December, 1986.
3. Chirwa Friday, Ibid.
4. Nkhoma Balowe, Ibid.
5. Chipeta Watson, Ibid.
6. Phiri Matthew (Senior Chief Masee Lundazi), Nthembowe, 30 December, 1986.
7. Kanyinji Mochalipo, Kamsiwani Village, 30 December, 1986.
8. Nkhoma Lungisani, Ibid.
9. Kanyinji Simpton, Ibid.
10. Khonje Substone, Ibid.
11. Banda Chakusanga, Nkhuluzombe, 31 December, 1986.
12. Ngoma Standwell, Kamphumbu Village, 2 January, 1987.
13. 'Vyolololo' Haswell, maluza village, 3 January, 1987.
14. Moyo Binwell, Kabeyuka Village, 3 January 1987.
15. Nyirenda Khonje, Chikundula Village, 3 January, 1987.
16. Mkamanga Bladwell, Chaliwa Village, 3 January, 1987.
17. Nyirenda Lyson, Kachinkhota Village, 4 January, 1987.
18. Milauzi Hunga, Kazumba Village, 4 January, 1987.
19. Mtonga Kelitara, Chimpeni Village, 7 January, 1987.
20. Moyo Ulemu, Doka Village, 8 January, 1987.
21. Mugala K., Doka Village, 9 January, 1987.
22. Shumba Mikaele, Zondiwe Village, 9 January, 1987.
23. Mtonga D., Chimpeni Village, 10 January, 1987.
24. Zgambo Bladwell, Mufubura, 10-11 February, 1987.
25. Members of the National Dance Troupe Lusaka, 8 March, 1987.

APPENDIX I

SONG TEXTSI. THE SIMATI PHASE

1.

Song Title: Moko is Chief
 Name of Boma: Relia Simati
 Date of Recording: 27 December 1986

Moko is chief
 Moko is chief surely
 Tele telele tele telelele

Moko is chief
 Moko is chief surely
 tele telele tele telelele

2.

Song Title: Open the Peace
 Name of Boma: Relia Simati
 Date of Recording: 27 December 1986

Open the peace
 Open the peace
 Oh please you open the peace
 Telelele telelele lilelele open the peace.

3.

Song Title: Do not be jealous
 Name of Boma: Injini Kesi
 Date of Recording: 3 January 1987

Tilili
 Oh yes
 tilili
 Oh yes
 You are the ones that called
 Do not be jealous.

4.

Song Title: Let Them Bewitch
 Name of Boma: Relia Simati
 Date of Recording: 29 December 1986

Oh let them bewitch
 Oh let them bewitch
 Oh let them bewitch
 Oh let them bewitch

Oh yes ee let them bewitch
 Oh stop bewitching others.

5.

Song Title: Oh Smooth and Smooth
 Name of Boma: Relia Simati
 Date of Recording: 29 December 1986

Oh smooth and smooth
 Telelile
 Oh smooth and smooth
 Telelile
 Oh smooth and smooth in Rhodesia
 Telelile
 Oh smooth and smooth in Halare in Rhodesia
 Telelile

6.

Song Title: In Halare There is Beauty
 Name of Boma: Injini Kesi
 Date of Recording: 3 January 1987

In Halare there is beauty
 Tile telelile
 In Halare there is beauty
 Tile telelile

Tile tile tile
 Tile telelile
 Lets go and see the beauty

7.

Song Title: Darling Lets Go
 Name of Boma: Injini Kesi
 Date of Recording: 3 January 1987

Darling darling lets go
 Yes telele lets go ee
 Darling darling lets go
 Yes telele lets go yes lets go.

8.

Song Title: They Fenced them with a Wire
 Name of Boma: Injini Kesi
 Date of Recording: 3 January 1987

Title tilire
 They fenced them with a wire
 Title tilire
 They fenced them with a wire in an upstairs building.

9.

Song Title: Virgin
 Name of Boma: Injini Kesi
 Date of Recording: 3 January 1987

Virgin oh
 Virgin oh
 They married a virgin from Hoho
 Tilelite virgin from Hoho

10.

Song Title: We are Proud
 Name of Boma: Relia Simati
 Date of Recording: 29 December 1986

We are proud
 Evergreen
 Because they use swagger sticks
 Evergreen

11.

Song Title: Do not Kill my King
 Name of Boma: Injini Kesi
 Date of Recording: 3 January 1987

Do not kill my King
 Mother this town King
 Do not kill King Khonje
 Oh yes do not kill our King.

12

Song Title: Fame
 Name of Boma: Belini
 Date of Recording: 8 January 1987

Fame fame
 Fame fame
 Fame has spread

Fame fame
 Fame fame
 We are tired our fame has spread
 Its already spread, our fame is already spread

13.

Song Title: How the youths walk
 Name of Boma: Belini
 Date of Recording: 9 January 1987

How the youths walk oo
 They make steps
 One Two One Two
 They make steps surely
 Come and see steps surely.

14.

Song Title: Let them Wander
 Name of Boma: Fedeleleshoni
 Date of Recording: 4 January 1987

Let them wander let them wander
 Let them wander oo let them wander
 Let them wander let them wander
 Let them wander oo let them wander and finish the
 world.

15.

Song Title: You Wild Beasts
 Name of Boma: Relia Simati
 Date of Recording: 7 January 1987

You Wild Beasts
 Tell your children
 You wilcebeeste
 Tell your children
 To stop arguing
 We are their elder brothers.

16

Song Title: He that Denies Relia
 Name of Boma: Relia Simati
 Date of Recording: 7 January 1987

He that has denied Relia superiority who will forget
 He that has denied Relia has denied himself
 He that has denied Relia superiority who will forget
 He that has denied Relia has denied himself

In Magodi
 He has denied himself
 In Msaya
 He has denied himself
 In Jasi
 He has denied himself
 He
 He that denied Relia has denied himself.

17

Song Title: Ngoni Wanderings
 Name of Boma: Relia Simati
 Date of Recording: 30 December 1986

Ngoni wanderings eee
 Here in our country
 Oh how pleasurable
 You have left us deserted homes

Ngoni wanderings eee
 Here in our country
 Oh how wonderful
 You have left us deserted homes

See where they went
 Oh yes see where they went
 See where they went
 Oh yes see where they went
 Get rid of your trap
 You of the Kasai clan
 You stink of cow dung

2. THE CHIBEZA PHASE

18

Song Title: We have Met
 Name of Boma: Relia Simali
 Date of Recording 30 December 1986

Dee we have met
 Title
 Dee we have met
 They are shying away
 With squinty eyes.

19

Song Title: Chiefs Met
 Name of Boma: Relia
 Date of Recording 30 December 1986

Chiefs met
 What Boma shall we invite
 Call Relia the step makers

 No we don't want hopping steps
 No we don't want hopping steps
 We sing in Tumbuka
 Call Relia the step makers.

20

Song Title: Baidoni
 Name of Boma: Relia Simati
 Date of Recording 29 December 1986

Baidoni has stolen the relish
 Oh not me
 Baidoni has stolen the relish
 Oh not me

 Oh not me
 Oh not me
 Baidoni has stolen the relish

21

Song Title: He that will kill my Favourite
 Name of Boma: Fedeleshoni
 Date of Recording 4 January 1987

He that will kill my favourite will be struck by
 lightning
 Go ee lightning will strike him
 He that will kill my favourite will be struck by
 lightning
 Go ee lightning will strike him

22

Song Title: Old man are You Still in There
 Name of Boma: Injini Kesi
 Date of Recording: 3 January 1987

Old man are you still in there
 Yes I am here my cloth has been returned
 Old man are you still in there
 Yes I am here my cloth has been returned

Father Mother
 Water has passed over
 And the bridge is under
 My cloth has been returned

23

Song Title: Where has My sister Gone
 Name of Boma: Injini Kesi
 Date of Recording: 3 January 1987

Where has my sister gone
 I will ask oh I will ask hoo
 I will ask where has she gone

Where has my old man gone
 I will ask oh I will ask hoo
 I will ask where he has gone

24

Song Title: I am crying
 Name of Boma: Belini
 Date of Recording: 8 January 1987

I am the one crying
 Drying for the ones in Johannesburg
 The evils of money
 It has cost me a friend
 Oh I have stopped.

25

Song Title: Ireen Please
 Name of Boma: Relia Simati
 Date of Recording: 7 January 1987

Ireen please
 Ireen
 Ireen please my wife
 Lets go to the fields early my wife ee

Oh yes
 Lets hurry
 Oh yes
 Lets hurry
 Oh Yes
 Lets go to the fields early my wife ee

26

Song Title: Write me a Letter
 Name of Boma: Relia Simati
 Date of Recording: 29 December 1986

Mrs. Jere write me a letter I will come back
 No let us divorce
 Mrs. Jere write me a letter I will come back
 No let us divorce.

Mrs. Jere
 No never never again
 Mrs. Jere
 No let us be divorced.

27

Song Title: Mr. Chirwa Overstayed
 Name of Boma: Injini Kesi
 Date of Recording: 3 January 1987

Chirwa overstayed in Harare
 He never came back to see his wife ee
 Chirwa overstayed in Harare
 He never came back to see his wife ee

My wife
 Oh my wife
 My wife
 Oh my wife
 He never came back to see his wife ee.

28

Song Title: Beauty my Child
 Name of Boma: Relia Simati
 Date of Recording: 29 December 1986

There's beauty in Ndola my child eee
 I have come back ee
 Oh my child eee
 Oh I have come back

I have come back to Relia
 I have come back my child to Relia
 I have come back to Relia
 I have come back my child to Relia

29

Song Title: You Laugh at my Poverty
 Name of Boma: Injini Kesi
 Date of Recording: 3 January 1987

You laugh at my poverty
 You laugh at my poverty
 You laugh at my poverty
 You laugh at my poverty

Lets get back together Mr. Chirwa
 Lets get back together
 You laugh at my poverty
 You laugh at my poverty.

30

Song Title: They Have Returned
 Name of Boma: Belini
 Date of Recording: 8 January 1987

They have returned mother
 Mother they greet you from Johannesburg
 They have returned.

Mother from Johannesburg they have returned
 I will go back mother
 Mother they have returned.

31

Song Title: The Wizards were Wrong
 Name of Boma: Relia Simati
 Date of Recording: 7 January 1987

The wizards were wrong to kill the youths
 The wizards were wrong to kill the youths
 Do we have any where we come from
 No but at Mandiyeghe.

Tell the truth
 Yes tell the truth
 Tell the truth
 Yes tell the truth
 Tell the truth but at mandiyeghe.

32

Song Title: Sorry you Luenas
 Name of Boma: Relia Simati
 Date of Recording: 30 December 1986

Sorry you Luenas you came through the bush
 Oh please you will sprain your legs
 Sorry you friends you came through the bush
 Oh please you will sprain your legs.

3. THE KANDALE PHASE

33

Song Title: Your Armpit is Stinking
 Name of Boma: Fedeleleshoni
 Date of Recording: 4 January 1987.

Mrs. Jere your armpit is stinking
 Do you are crazy
 Mrs. Jere your armpit is stinking
 Do you are crazy.

Mrs. Jere
 Do no Mrs. Jere
 Mrs. Jere
 Do you are crazy
 Mrs. Jere you are crazy.

34

Song Title: Modern Girls
 Name of Boma: Belini
 Date of Recording: 8 January 1987

Modern girls have already contracted
 They have already contracted on
 Modern girls have already contracted
 They have already contracted on.

Oh yes
 They have already contracted ee
 Oh yes
 They have venereal disease ee
 Oh yes
 They have already contracted venereal disease.

35

Song Title: You Matilda
 Name of Boma: Belini
 Date of Recording: 8 January 1987

You Matilda
 You Matilda
 She has already contracted a disease
 I have a headache ee

She has contracted she has contracted ee
 She has contracted she has contracted ee
 She has already contracted a disease
 I have a headache eyaaa.

36

Song Title: Chanda's Games
 Name of Boma: Relia Simati
 Date of Recording: 29 December 1986

Chanda's games
 Chanda's
 Chanda's games Tafwakose is a prostitute ee

Tafwakose is a prostitute
 Oh mother
 I am tired
 Oh yes
 Tafwakose is a prostitute ee.

37

Song Title: You that Eliminate Others
 Name of Boma: Relia Simati
 Date of Recording: 7 January 1987

You who eliminate others
 You who eliminate others (completely) tetetete
 Oh you will also die (completely) tetetete
 God is with your friends (completely) tetetete

38

Song Title: He that will Kill my Father
 Name of Boma: Relia Simati
 Date of Recording: 7 January 1987

He that will kill my father
 Weeds at the fields
 He that will kill my father
 Weeds at the fields

Oh
 Who will hoe them
 Oh
 Who will hoe them please the weeds at the fields.

39

Song Title: You have Revealed
 Name of Boma: Relia Simati
 Date of Recording: 29 December 1986

You have revealed ee you have revealed ee you have
 revealed ee

You have revealed the magic

You have revealed ee you have revealed ee you have
 revealed ee

You have revealed the magic

They went to Henga

They rode on Hyenas

With their charms in their hands

You have revealed the magic.

40

Song Title: I will go and Get it.
 Name of Boma: Relia Simati
 Date of Recording: 29 December 1986

Even if you hide it in the granary
 I will get it I will get the charm

Even if you hide it in the farm
 I will get I will get the charm

Even if you hide it in the kraal
 I will get I will get the charm
 Oh no today I will get I will get the charm.

41

Song Title: Do not Under-estimate me
 Name of Boma: Belini
 Date of Recording: 9 January 1987

Do not under-estimate me
 Everything is at home
 Do not under-estimate me
 Everything is at home

Bikes, Cars for me
 Everything is at home
 Bikes, Cars for me
 Everything is at home

42

Song Title: Girls of Mwase
 Name of Boma: Belini
 Date of Recording: 9 January 1987

Girls of Mwase
 Lets meet later at the riverside
 Girls of Mwase
 Lets meet later at the riverside

I will pretend to be crazy
 So that I can be sent home
 From the riverside.

43

Song Title: What Relish Shall I Prepare
 Name of Boma: Belini
 Date of Recording: 9 January 1987

What relish shall I prepare for father to eat
 Oh father I have been let down
 What relish shall I prepare for mother to eat
 Oh mother I have been let down

Oh mother oh father
 I cook Nshima they refuse
 My legs are aching
 There is nothing good for me
 Oh I have been let down.

44

Song Title One gets Into the Cup
 Name of Boma: Relia Simati
 Date of Recording: 30 December 1986

One gets into the cup one gets into the cup you girls
 They are here and there
 One gets into the cup one gets into the cup you girls
 They are here and there

Those ants
 They are here and there
 These ants you girls
 They are here and there.

45

Song Title: Danger
 Name of Boma: Fedeleshoni
 Date of Recording: 4 January 1987

Danger
 Federation Boma at Chigando
 See my child I am tired
 I am tired you my child
 I am tired my friend really

46

Song Title: Jeremiah
 Name of Boma: Belini
 Date of Recording: 8 January 1987

Jeremiah is a city oh yes
 Ploughing is done by cattle
 My dearest son softly softly
 Oh yes
 Oh yes oh yes
 Cattle do the ploughing

47

Song Title: You Cry
 Name of Boma: Relia simati
 Date of Recording: 7 January 1987

You cry titi titi
 You cry
 You cry titi titi
 You cry

Tomorrow you will be in the beer house
 Who will give you free beer at your age
 tomorrow you will be in the beer house
 Who will give you free beer at your age

48

Song Title: They were shamed
 Name of Boma: Fedeleleshoni
 Date of Recording: 4 January 1987

You from Jivwere eyae
 You from Jivwere eyae
 Those from Doka eyae
 Those from Kalala eyae
 From Munkhwangu eyae
 And those from Muzamo eyae

They were shamed eyae
 They were shamed
 They were shamed eyae
 They were really shamed.

49

Song Title: Undercooked Nshima
 Name of Boma: Relia Simati
 Date of Recording: 30 December 1986

Undercooked Nshima
 Undercooked relish oh mother a grinding mill is a
 grinding mill
 Undercooked Nshima
 Undercooked relish oh mother a grinding mill is a
 grinding mill

I have spent I have spent I have spent the night
 outside
 I have spent I have spent I have spent the night
 outside

Oh my mother
 Oh my mother
 I have spent the night outside
 I have spent I have spent I have spent the night
 outside

I have returned on the way I have returned on the way I
 have returned on the way myself
 I have returned on the way I have returned on the way I
 have returned on the way myself

50

Song Title: Undercooked Nshima
 Name of Boma: Fedeleleshoni
 Date of Recording: 4 January 1987

Undercooked Nshima
 Undercooked Relish oh mother I am a grinding mill
 Undercooked Nshima
 Undercooked relish oh mother I am a grinding mill

Oh yes oh yes
 Oh yes mother
 They have come they have come back mother
 they have come back they have come back from
 Johannesburg they have come back

51

Song Title: I have Feigned Illness
 Name of Boma: Relia Simati
 Date of Recording: 29 December 1986

I have feigned illness
 Illness for me
 Oh mother
 Oh yes tololoto

I have feigned illness
 As if I have a child
 Oh yes tololoto

Aee
 Oh yes
 Aee
 Oh yes today
 As if I have a child oh no tololoto

YOU CHILDREN CHASE THE CHICKENS THEY ARE EATING THE
 RELISH EYA! WHATS HAPPENING? GO AWAY. THESE
 TROUBLESOME CHICKENS.

Aee
 Oh yes
 Aee
 Oh yes today
 As if I have a child oh no tololoto

YOU MY CHILD CHASE THE CHICKENS! SEE HOW THEY GROWD
 THE MEALIE-MEAL MBO! AS IF THERE ARE NO PEOPLE AROUND.

52

Song Title: Grasshopper
 Name of Boma: Relia Simati
 Date of Recording: 7 January 1987

Grasshopper
 My son's grasshopper land so that I catch you
 Grasshopper
 My son's grasshopper land so that I catch you

Mother
 Grasshopper you grasshopper
 Mother
 Grasshopper my son's grasshopper land so that I catch
 you

53

Song Title: Gafari
 Name of Boma: Injini Kesi
 Date of Recording: 3 January 1987

Telele
 Telele Gafari spoke
 Telele
 Telelele Gafari complained

Aheii
 Gafari spoke
 He spoke
 Gafari complained
 He spoke
 They have stolen my money
 He spoke
 Gafari complained.

54

Song Title: They hit the Target
 Name of Boma: Relia Simati
 Date of Recording: 7 January 1987

The children have hit each other
 On the target
 The Children have hit each other
 On the target the reward is a mound

YOU? DO YOU KNOW HOW TO PLAY THIS GAME?
 YES I DO
 O.K. GET READY
 SEE YOU HAVE OPENED HERE I WILL HIT THE TARGET
 GO AHEAD
 I STRIKE KHA! HERE AND GET THESE REWARDS

The children have hit each other on the target
 On the target
 The children have hit each other
 On the target the reward is a mound.

54(b)

Song Title: They Hit the Target
 Name of Boma: Fedeleshoni
 Date of Recording: 4 January 1987

The children have hit each other
 On the target
 They have hit the child
 On the target
 The reward will be gathered tomorrow

55

(Same as the Tumbuka Version).

56

Song Title: He that will kill the black and white
 Cuckoo
 Name of Boma: Relia Simati
 Date of Recording: 7 January 1987

He that will kill the cuckoo today
 It will rain endlessly mother I am a cuckooeee
 He that will kill the cuckoo today
 It will rain endlessly mother I am cuckooeee

Cuckoo
 Aee yae
 Cuckoo
 Aee yae
 Cuckoo
 Aee yae it will rain endlessly mother I am a Cuckooeee.